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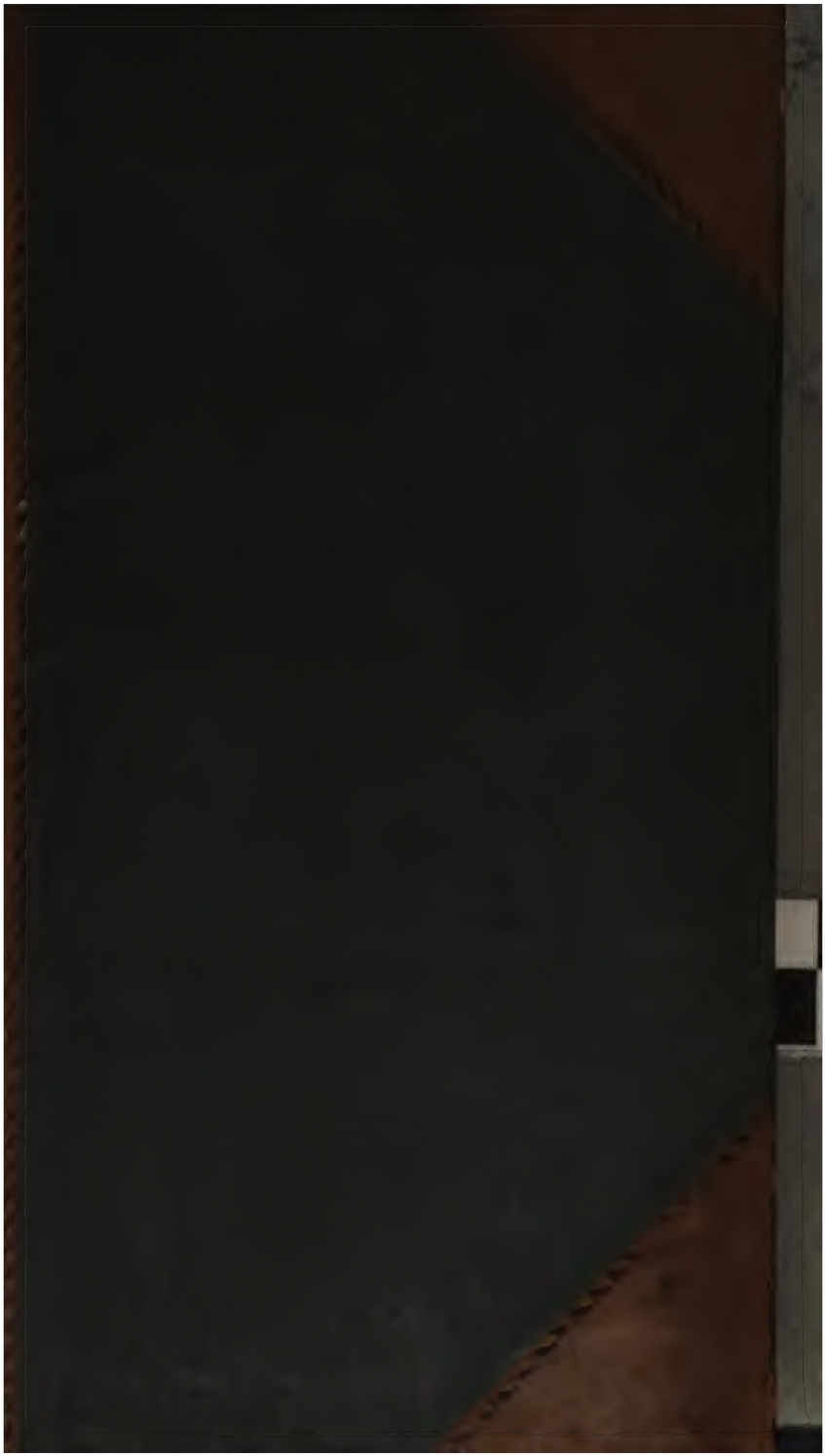

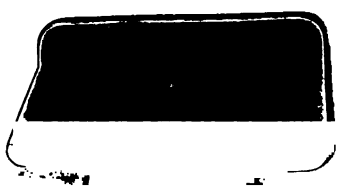

REVELATIONS

OF

AUSTRIA.

BY

M. KOUBRAKIEWICZ,

EX-AUSTRIAN FUNCTIONARY.

EDITED BY THE AUTHOR OF

"THE REVELATIONS OF RUSSIA," "EASTERN EUROPE AND THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

THE Editor has been induced to append a few notes, and these prefatory remarks to this translation of Mr. Koubrakiewicz's "Revelations of Austria," (or, *Mysteres d'Autriche,)* because, whilst it throws light on one of the despotisms of Eastern Europe, it is calculated to mislead the public as to others. It derives importance from the fact that there exists no work by any competent writer; nor, indeed, any work whatever which enters into

detail on the subject of which it treats. Mr. Koubrakiewicz held office for many years under the Austrian government, in Gallicia, or Austrian Poland, which he principally describes. No writer has therefore yet appeared better qualified to depict its administration and condition. The general agreement of his statements with the private information furnished from that country to the Editor, are to him a guarantee of the good faith of his author's statements. Mr. Koubrakiewicz's work is, therefore, the best on a country which recent events have invested with a painful interest. He affords us the best evidence to be obtained respecting the character and effects of the Austrian despotism, since born and bred under its rule, and long initiated into its service.

As long as he describes what he has personally seen, and treats of those subjects with which his position has given him intimate acquaintance, his testimony is peculiarly valuable, and we may attach to it all the weight due to the narration of a straightforward eye-witness. It is in this point of view that the Editor especially recommends this book; though he sees reason to differ, both in matters of

fact and of opinion, with its author, wherever making any departure in his work from direct testimony, whether to indulge in speculative reflections or in political remarks, respecting countries beyond the sphere of his personal observation. The Editor has no wish to identify his sentiments with those expressed by the author, especially when diverging into religious or political discussion, or entering upon questions of political economy. Indeed, the notions of Mr. Koubrakiewicz on all these subjects, but especially the latter, appear to him, crude and jejeune.

Political economy is a science, it should be remembered, of which the fundamental truths are only now beginning to be popularly disseminated amongst ourselves;—a species of knowledge in which France is still twenty years behind us, and Eastern Europe twenty years behind France.

The bitter hostility of Mr. Koubrakiewicz to Catholicism is not unnatural in a Polish patriot, accustomed to see Rome itself, and the dignitaries of its Church in Austria, conniving with its Roman Catholic Prince to keep his subjects in misery

and subjection; but this author does not do justice to the patriotism of the inferior clergy; and in the inferences which he draws from his parallel between the Greek and Romish Churches in favor of the former, he is historically unjust.

Catholicism has been used as an instrument both to oppress and to uphold civil liberty and national independence. The Greek persuasion has almost always been appropriated by despotism. If we judge of the influence of both from their results, with the single exception of the kingdom of Greece, and the hills of Montenegro, all traces of freedom have been obliterated wherever the Greek faith is established; whereas the great majority of the Roman Catholic populations have secured representative forms of governments.

The dignitaries of the Roman Church sink, in Austria, into tools of its despotism; but its humbler members, at least in Austrian Poland, conspire against its oppressors in defiance of their superiors.

In Russia, the Greek Church is a still more passive instrument in the hands of power; and if less formidable from want of life and energy, it shews

the same spiritless submission through all its grades.

The Editor does not mean to argue that the Greek Church is inimical to the existence of free government; on the contrary, he knows of no form of the Christian Faith which is not congenial to it; but only to point outthat there exists no evidence to shew that it is more so than the Roman Catholic.

It is true, paradoxical as it may appear, that the ultra-Catholic feeling of the Poles may prove one of the most powerful instruments of the regeneration of Eastern Europe; yet at the same time seriously threatens to retard its progress. That is to say, that the profoundly religious feeling of the masses in Poland offers the most powerful lever for raising the Polish people against the three oppressing despotisms; and that hence its existence amongst the lower classes is, in a political point of view, a most fortunate circumstance. This feeling should, therefore, always be appealed to in directly addressing the Polish people; but wherever it pervades, to any exclusive extent, the more enlightened classes, or the organs of their opinion, it cannot fail to have an unfavourable effect upon the pre-

judices of their follow Sclavonians, suffering, as the Editor has shewn elsewhere, a common oppression, and constituting one vast brotherhood united by successive shades of assimilation, as regards their language, character, and customs, and which nothing but difference of religion interrupts. It unfortunately happens that Polish patriots are apt to regard the political utility of Catholicism from one or other of these points of view, making it their exclusive sheet-anchor, or considering it solely in the light of an apple of discord thrown between the suffering populations of the Sclavonic countries. Mr. Koubrakiewicz has adopted the latter opinion.

The Editor has next to remark upon a feature characteristic of Polish writers in these days of national oppression, but which, without comment, would go far to deceive the reader.

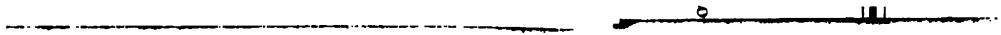
Mr. Koubrakiewicz, when denouncing the Austrian government, whose misrule and duplicity he has personally witnessed, continually exclaims, that things are better even in Russia (which he does not know) than in Austria, which he does. There exists no sort of doubt as to the place to be assigned

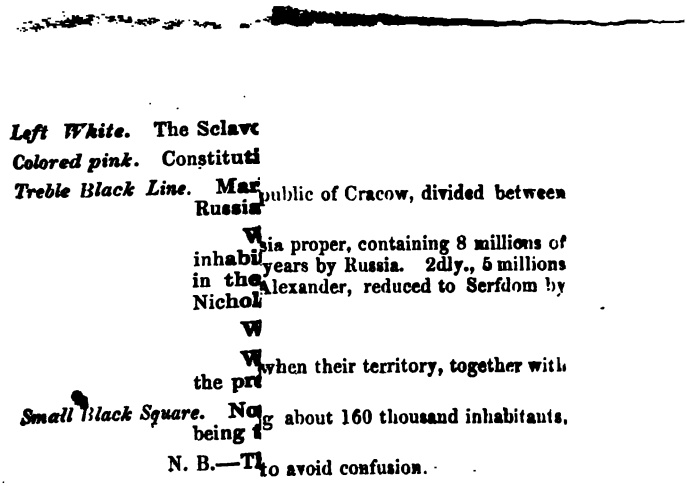
in the scale of evil to the three despotisms, which afford a sad illustration of the comparative degrees. If we brand the rule of Prussia as bad, we must unquestionably take that of Austria as worse, and of Russia as worst of all. Yet it has never happened to the author to hear any Pole, whose knowledge was only local, whether from Prussian, Russian, or Austrian Poland, give any detail of the oppression of his portion of the country, but what he declared it to be worse than in the other states. These people remind one of the untravelled inhabitants of northern climates, who are always telling you in the dog days, that it is hotter than on the coast of Africa, or than in the East Indies, whose sun they have never tried.

Mr. Koubrakiewicz, in the hostility which, as a Sclavonian, he evinces to the Germans, who, either in the form of dynasties or as the tools of despotism, so much oppress his people, speaks only the feeling common to the Sclavonians throughout Eastern Europe. After shewing that the partition of Poland was effected solely by sovereigns and ministers of German origin, when he alludes to Russia, he treats

justified in introducing it to the notice of the reader, as adding fresh light to the darkness which has so long envelopped the condition of those fair and populous regions oppressed by the three great European despotisms.

The author of "Revelations of Russia," "Eastern Europe and the Emperor Nicholas," &c.





Out of twenty-one dynasties which govern and oppress Monarchical Europe, or that reign and do not govern, there are eighteen of German origin.

Amongst these the first place is occupied by the dynasty of Habsburg, from which proceed the Sovereigns of Austria since the

13th Century, of which Adolphus, Count of Habsburg, was the founder, and which reckons in all, according to the genealogical almanack of Saxony, forty-five legitimate members, of whom twenty-seven are Princes and eighteen Princesses.

Absolute sovereigns formerly bore the title* of Despot†, and after that of Kaiser,‡ the two first of these titles became rather a detestably ignominious, than an honourable epithet, in consequence of the abuses committed by absolute Monarchs; the title of Kaiser, on the contrary, was sanctioned

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* *Tyrant* is derived from the Greek word Τυράννος and signifies King or Prince.

† *Despot* comes from δεσπότης and signifies Sovereign Ruler.

‡ *Kaiser* comes from the Greek word Καισαρ which is translated into French by *Cœsar*, into Polish by *Cesarz*, into Russia by *Tsar*, into German by *Kaiser*.

by the French, Polish, and Russian Scripture, which enjoined to render up Kaiser, *(Cæsar, Cesarz Tzar)* that which is Kaiser's, and to render up to God that which belongs to God, thus the Austrian sovereigns have taken, and retained up to the present, this latter title of Kaiser ; and their wives that of Kaiserinn, the princes and princesses bearing that of Archdukes and Archduchesses.

I must beg leave to differ from the French usage respecting the title given to the sovereigns of Austria, and to bring it nearer to its proper etymology and signification, both because these Austrian sovereigns themselves take the title of Kaiser—and because throughout Germany and Austria, where given to them, it is associated with certain ideas which do not attach to that of Emperor.

The Kaiser has a right over the lives and fortunes of his subjects; an Emperor has only the command of the army. The dynasty of Habsburg being only national for a sixth part of the Empire, its rule must necessarily be absolute, and all other forms of government, whether monarchical or democratic, are incompatible with its interest and its existence.

Hence we see with what intelligence and subtilty the Kaisers force the temporal and spiritual governments, to look upon them, not only as the centre of religious and political absolutism, but also as the basis of monarchies in general.

All the princes in Europe make pilgrimages to Vienna, that they may be introduced into the sanctuary of their salvation, initiated into the mysteries of their monarchical and absolute government, and

led to sign an act which the Kaisers succeed in persuading them is useful and necessary to the existence of all Monarchs, but which only protects and guarantees the house of Habsburgh in Hungary, in Poland, in Bohemia and in Italy.

According to an organical statute of the family of Habsburg all the Arch-dukes are obliged to learn a trade, the Kaiser, Francis the First, was a sealingwax maker, the present Kaiser, Ferdinand the First, is a turner.

This statute is intended to maintain in the family a positive and speculating spirit.

The Kaiser is the chief of his family, he is obliged to maintain all its legitimate members, but on the other hand they cannot contract any legitimate marriage without the consent of their head.

Alliances contracted by the Arch-dukes or Arch-duchesses without this consent are

called *Morganatic* the children born of these unions bear the titles of Barons or Baronesses.

The Archduke John married, *Morganatically*, the daughter of a Post-master, by whom he had two little barons.

The present Kaiser, Ferdinand the First, it is said, displayed, up to the age of eighteen or twenty years, some cleverness and independance of character; it was presaged of him that when he became sovereign he would not follow the immutable system of his father, Francis the First, so much so that he was disliked both by his father and by Metternich, who were desirious that Francis Charles, the second son, who inherited all the systematic qualities of his father, should succed to the throne.

Being one day out hunting in company with his father, Mr. Metternich and other

sportsmen, the Archduke Ferdinand narrowly escaped being killed, by a shot fired at him, but the assassin was never discovered.

Another time an Austrian officer fired a pistol at him, within a few yards distance, but he missed him.

This man, when discovered, was found to have had an access of madness.

Different reports were circulated in Galicia as to the true authors of these attempts, called *Austrian accidents.*

It is said, indeed, that the conjugal impotence, epilepsy and imbecillity of Ferdinand, are only the consequences of such *accidents.*

Tenacious constancy in good and evil fortune, a thorough knowledge of mankind, the conviction of human weaknesses and guile—the wisdom of appreciating

all religions as essential springs of internal and external policy—the total absence of generosity, of noble sentiments of sympathy, tenderness and pity for human nature, or any love of hollow glory ;—the suppression of any ill-regulated spirit of vengeance, beyond what the clear-sighted measures of that cold egotism, called politics, allows—the art of pretending a confidence without reserve, in the fidelity of subjects, and in their own divine right and title thereby dissimulating that general and ever watchful mistrust which results from the intimate conviction that they only govern by the right of strength—these are the hereditary qualities of the dynasty of the Kaisers in general, or distinctive of their system of government.

The only passion they know, and that which absorbs or replaces all others, is the

love of, or rather the rapacious and insatiable thirst for gold, which they look upon as their God, and as the only end and aim of their government and Conquests. The most wretched parsimony, carried to the extreme of sordid avarice, is only the consequence of this predilection.

The Kaisers themselves keep the key of their treasures; they alone know the sum total of the millions hidden in their cellars.

The reader will see by the faithful picture I shall attempt to draw of the Austrian administration in Galicia, an administration which almost wholly resembles that of the other provinces, excepting the Archduchy of Austria, how infinitely clear sighted and circumspect the internal policy of the Kaisers is, how favourable to the dynasty, and, in some measure, to the

German metropolitan provinces, whilst it is burthensome, oppressive and destructive to the non-German provinces.

The administration of the Austrian Empire, situated in the midst of Europe, is less known than that of those states, separated from Europe by two thousand leagues of sea. Some persons think that the different States which compose the Austrian Empire are governed in the same manner. Strangers, not even excepting the Ambassadors, who only see Vienna, the German Provinces, and the Archduchy of Austria, believe that the inhabitants of the other Provinces not German, enjoy the same institutions, the same rights ; that they have the same degree of prosperity as the privi-ledged German race, monopolising all the higher grades, the dignities and functions,

military, civil, or ecclesiastic, and forming the nucleus of the Empire.

It is scarcely known, in Europe, that from six to seven millions of German Austrians, having a Kaiser at their head, treat, as their slaves, nearly thirty-two millions of human beings, of another race than their own.

The English Colonies and other States are at least protected, in some measure, by the distance of the mother country, and find a certain independance in the impossibility which the goverment finds of unceasingly governing them. The Austrian colonies, Galicia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Hungary, Transilvania, Dalmatia, Croatia, Italy, have not that advantage; they are exposed to, and within reach, of the rapacity of the "*Austrian vermin*," who

infect and slowly consume them, without interruption or intermission.

The Austrian oppression in the non-Germanic Provinces, surpasses by very far that of the Sultan or of the Tsar, because it attacks both body and mind, with a superior intelligence, a studied method, and unshakable perseverance. In Russia and in Turkey, only the body—the brute mass—suffers from unintelligent and disorderly oppression, which is often without any premeditated political end; because the government of these countries not being raised to the level of European civilization, and not having any profound knowledge of the intellectual strength which alone governs the world, know only how to reach the brutalised masses.

Certain geographers, historians, and authors

of universal dictionaries, do not hesitate to repeat, after the German works, that Austria is governed by an Emperor who exercises absolute power, but that he generally makes use of that power with extreme mildness. The government of the Kaisers passes, in Europe, for a moderate, absolute government, so true is it, that the cold, systematic, civilized despotism of the Kaisers, prevails, in the minds of those who do not know it thoroughly, over the ill-regulated despotism, oftimes self-injurious and always impolitic, of other absolute sovereigns.

The error committed by strangers, proceeds from their not distinguishing the Austrian administration in the German Provinces, from the administration practised in the non-Germanic districts.

The absolutism of the Kaisers is besides palliated and upheld by the censured Ger-

man press, which, whilst it reproves the Austrian dominion in Germany, as tyrannical and unpopular, believes it to be a duty to call it Paternal towards foreigners. The Kaisers in Germanising Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Poland, Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, Italy, &c,—in subjecting more than thirty millions of foreigners to the yoke, thereby serving and defending the integrity of the Germanic Empire, and the despotism of its Princes, whilst at the same time extending the Germanic territory, language, and servile spirit, appears to merit the gratitude of all Teutons. The German Austrians are proud of the dominion of their masters over foreign nations, without reflecting that they themselves are the first enslaved, forming only an abject dulocracy, whilst these foreigners serve their masters as instruments to keep them in the degrading servitude in which they linger, and

the spoil which their masters tear from the stranger, serving only to increase the means of the despotism oppressing them.

The Austrian Empire exercises, for many reasons, too great an influence in Europe, not to make it desirable to acquire a complete knowledge of its power and internal policy.

It is only by ascertaining the interior organization of a state, that a sane judgment can be formed with regard to its internal policy.

A nation like an individual can only learn the degree of its moral or physical strength, by comparison with that of other nations.

The absolutist governments enjoy this advantage amongst others, that they can study the administration, the power or weakness of constitutional States, the cha-

racter of their inhabitants, and even the revenues of courts, and the condition of cabinets, and parties, by reading the newspapers, and other publications, or by attending to the parliamentary debates; whilst the Constitutional Cabinets are either divested of such information, or forced to seek it in censured writings, which are invariably either false or inexact.

The mystery enveloping the springs of the policy of the Kaisers, forms a great portion of their power; they have risen to their present eminence and are maintained there by the sole agency of the political skill displayed in the management of their affairs. All the conquests made by other people, and sovereigns are due to the bravery of their armies—bought with blood and treasure. The Kaisers owe their numerous acquisitions to marriages, treaties, and for the most part to their perfidies.

They have rarely been fortunate in their expeditions, when openly combating with military strategy and tactics.

They have rarely won victories, but almost always succeeded by calling into play the springs of hidden influences; and by employing a subterraneous strategy have generally triumphed over their adversaries.

They have never despaired, however bad their position. More than once, during the last two centuries their monarchy has been on the point of crumbling in the dust, through the loss of unfortunate battles, and more than once they have come out triumphant, by following those tortuous paths, where cunning is of more avail than strength.

It does not accord with the views of this essay to recapitulate the military exploits

or the solitary diplomatic acts of the Kaisers; therefore, I shall only cite some few historical facts in corroboration of my assertions, as to the nature and efficacy of their political means and resources.

King Henry the Fourth of France, proposed to wage war against Austria, and on the eve of his projected campaign was struck by a hand which some mysterious power had aimed against him. Austria was saved by the blow of a dagger. The people suspected the Kaiser and the Jesuits.

After the revolution of July, and during the revolutionary movements in Italy, the Kaiser Francis the First conceived suspicion against his grandson, the Duke of Reichstadt, son of Napoleon, and that grandson died immediately. Reports were spread in Vienna that he was poisoned.

The Protestant league menaced the ruin

of the Austrian monarchy. The celebrated Austrian general, Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, raised, at his own cost, an army of fifty thousand men, and saved the throne which proved ungrateful, and once freed from the enemy, requited ill his services.

Soon afterwards, Gustavus Adolophus the hero of the seventeenth century, and chief of the league, recommenced hostilities. The Kaiser Ferdinand, entreated General Wallenstein to take again the command of his army, and in order to prevail upon him to do so, promised him the gift of an hereditary province, of another conquered province, and of the Duchy of Mecklenberg.

He accorded him the title of Commander-in-Chief, with unlimited powers in the army.

Wallenstein, placing no faith in the pro-

mises of the Kaiser, fought inertly, and thought only of the means of forcing him to keep his word in case of victory.

He even proposed to conclude a lasting peace with Sweden and the German provinces, and if the Court of Vienna opposed it, to join himself to the Allies, and as he secretly expressed himself before Arnheimer, "*to send the Kaiser to the devil.*" (Den Kaiser zum teufel jagen.)

Of this the Kaiser was duly informed.

His position was most critical; the defeat or the victory of his army, was equally dangerous to him.

Under these circumstances, Francis Albert, Duke of Lauenburg, an Austrian general, deserted from the Imperial army, and went over to the inimical camp of Gustavus Adolphus, where he took service.

By that fawning and hypocrisy, so fami-

liar to German nobles, Lauenburg won the heart of the hero and became his intimate favorite.

At the battle of Lutzen, Gustavus-Adolphus and his favorite the prince Lauenburg lost themselves and fell into the hands of some Austrians in ambuscade, who massacred the king with sabre cuts and gun shots, but allowed his companion to pass safe and sound. The prince of Lauenburg, who after this action repaired to Vienna, without loss of time, received from his Kaiser in recompense the command of the army of Silesia.

But with the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the throne of the Kaiser was not secure from all danger; Wallenstein yet lived, and troubled the repose of Ferdinand. A captain and six Austrian halberdiers, under the command of Butler, a Colonel and faithful servant of his Kaiser, entered the bed-

chamber of Wallenstein at midnight, and murdered him and his companions, the Generals — Kinski and Terzki. They were scarcely out of the castle, when the air resounded with the cries and lamentations of the wives, children and servants of these unhappy victims.

Ferdinand, upon receiving the intimation of this news, shed tears, conformably to the precepts of Machiavel, to prove his innocence, and afterwards ordered three thousand masses to be said in the churches of Vienna, for the repose of the souls of the victims, and recompensed the heroic devotion of the tools, his faithful servants, by distributing amongst them chains of honor, (gnodenketten), Chamberlains' keys, diplomas, degrees, dignities, and knighthoods, (ritterguttes.)

Another historical fact no less remarkable

and characteristic, is too recent to be ignored by any one.

That, however, which merits the attention of the whole world, and which has struck few investigators, is the connection premeditated and foreseen between the events realized in 1814, and 1815, as being natural effects of facts accomplished in 1810, their determining causes.

The friendship of German Princes had always been found more dangerous and disastrous to France and its sovereigns, than their enmity.

After a thousand combats lost, the vanquished and humbled Kaiser changed his policy.

From the most implacable enemy, which he was, he all at once became, in appearance, the staunchest friend, the nearest relative of Napoleon.

As it has been said, "amongst the baggage taken by assault from the Capital of Vienna, Napoleon found the Archduchess Maria Louisa," daughter of the Kaiser; he repudiated Josephine, his guardian angel, and married the Archduchess, the devoted political instrument of Austria, and the cause of his degradation, and of the humiliation of France.

It would be wholly to misunderstand the nature of man, to suppose that a vanquished enemy could so readily become the sincere friend of his conqueror.

It was self deception to imagine that the Habsburgs were not seeking the means of revenging their humiliation, or that they sincerely gave up their alliance with England.

In Paris there was a great rejoicing over this marriage, which was looked upon as the

ultimate and consolidating result of the victories obtained, and as establishing French supremacy on an unshakeable basis. There was rejoicing also in Vienna over this "*mesalliance,*" which was looked upon as a necessary sacrifice, as a political embryo, which was only engendered with the view of undermining the power of France, of bringing about her fall, and of raising Austria, and with her despotism.

Germans were heard, immediately after this marriage, to predict the downfal of Napoleon, and the ruin of France, so fully were they convinced that this marriage was only a snare on the part of their Kaiser. Those who were more immediately about the person of the Emperor Napoleon, and took part in public affairs between 1810 and 1815, must agree that without this marriage, and without the inspirations, and en-

couraging influences, direct and indirect of the Germans, the chivalrous adventure of the Russian campaign of 1812, would never have been undertaken. Buonaparte, as a simple French citizen, representative and chief of the generous French Nation, was the first captain in the world, the first French citizen, and in some measure the defender of all the oppressed. In his enterprises he consulted only his own intelligence and the welfare of France—his country; he distrusted all princes crowned by the grace of God; and was ever on his guard.

As son-in-law to the Kaiser, ennobled, metamorphosed, and received within the pale of German aristocracy, he consulted aristocratic appearances, consulted his own interests, personal and dynastic; consented to restrain France within its former boundaries under Louis the Sixteenth, provid-

ing he was left upon his Imperial throne. He became the mere paladin of his wife, and sank into the position of the last of legitimate princes. To obtain their simulated confidence, he was obliged to accord his own sincere confidence, to render himself worthy of being their chief, or even their equal, he was obliged to become the champion of sovereigns, to surround himself with clergy, and be the faithful companion and zealous defender of all despots.

After this marriage he appeared no more the vanquisher of Jena, of Austerlitz and of Wagram.

His genius was effaced, because he ceased after it to exist, or to combat in that democratic element which constituted the strength of the French Nation. Whilst only their tool he imagined himself to be the master, or at least the equal of those six-and-thirty reigning Germanic sovereigns,

who accompanied by a crowd of non reigning princes and princesses, without even a claim to a throne, being illegitimate, as (born of Germatic Morganatic marriages) and surrounded by artful nobles congregating from all the corners of Germany came to bow the knee to tender him at Dresden their homage, and to engage him, by the protestations of their fidelity, to undertake the adventurous enterprise. He repeated even ingenuously to his wife, and in a strain of gallantry, "we men rule the world, but we are ruled by the women."

The plan of the Campaign fixed upon in 1812, by the Sclavonians of the north, called by the Greek Sarmatians σαρμα (sweeping) for their defence, was the same followed by their ancestors, the Sclavonians of the South, summoned by the Greeks, Scythians, σκύθης (or fierce men) at the time they were

successively invaded by Cyrus, Darius, and Alexander the Great.

As they struck into the interior of the country, the grand army of Napoleon advanced, burnt their towns and villages; and thus left the elements, the cold, scarcity, and famine to combat for them. The remainder of the grand army was destroyed by the Austrians, Prussians, and the other coalized states. Charles the Twelfth was vanquished in the same manner, in 1709.

The Austrian monarchy having been re-established in its ancient splendor, and the Archduchess Maria Louise having played her part, she returned to Vienna, to receive from the holy alliance, the Duchy of Parma, as a recompense for her generous devotion. To prove that her marriage with Napoleon was a mere diplomatic affair, she sent him, when at the Island of Elba, an act of divorce.

The ennobled Napoleon had not sufficient pride, moral courage, or self-love, to repay contempt by contempt. He had boldly demanded a divorce from the chaste and virtuous Josephine, the French citizeness, whose love was past all proof, and who died overwhelmed by grief at the misfortunes which fell on her ex-husband; yet he refused to accept the divorce from the Austrian subject Maria Louise, who despised him, and who was so anxious to offer her charms to another.

Alexander the Great perished a victim to his debaucheries; Charles the Twelfth to his generous temerity; Napoleon succumbed to his insolent pride.

Besides the millions which France had paid to the Coalition under the title of military contributions and indemnifications of all kinds, of which Austria had its part; the Kaiser Francis had secretly demanded

of Louis the Eighteenth, and of Prince Talleyrand, and had received the sum of twenty five millions. Princes have been known to betray their relatives, and even their own children, but they had never before been seen betraying them from mere mercenary considerations. It is to be hoped therefore for the honor of Princes and Kaisers, that these twenty-five millions demanded and paid were so in satisfaction of some other secret claim.*

In general, the outward policy of Austria is patient and exempt from passion. It neither attempts to defend humanity, nor disinterested friendship, nor national dignity or honour.

The Kaisers only fight to augment or pre-

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* History of the Treaties of 1815, by Cretineau Joly.

serve their treasure; and even then they very rarely act alone, ostensibly, or directly.

They possess the gift of exciting other more ardent or vain sovereigns and people, by insinuations of their impotence, and above all by their own simulated poverty, to fight in their interest; whilst they only interfere publicly to divide or to take exclusive possession of the prize.

To possess themselves of Ancient Poland, the Kaisers made use of their daughters, whom they gave as wives to the Kings of Poland; of the Pope, and Jesuits, whom they disposed of as suited their purposes, and afterwards of the Poles and their Kings in like manner. The most fearful period of the Polish history is that when an Austrian Archduchess sat upon their throne. By turns, the unhappy Poles were excited,

sometimes to attempt the conquest of Sweden, sometimes to that of Russia, sometimes to the murder of those of their brethren, who remained faithful to the religion of their fathers, and would not recognize the sovereignty of the Pope and the Jesuits.

In order to invade western Poland, the Kaisers inspired the Poles with the prospect of identifying themselves with Lithuania, by removing their capital towards the East, transporting the government seat to Warsovia, and abandoning Cracow, the cradle of Poland, the birth-place of its hereditary Kings, and the Polish cradle of art and science, in fact, the Polish Pantheon, full of the historical memories of the past, and mysterious destinies of the future.

Schiller, the celebrated author of the Thirty Years' War, says, that Sigismund, who waged war against Gustavus Adolphus, son-

in-law to Habsburg, and aided with his ships the Austrian General Wallenstein, during the siege of Stralsund, was only a tool in the hands of the Kaiser, wherewith to bear down German liberty.

As soon as the Poles had become accustomed to look upon Lithuania, as a principal and component part of Ancient Poland, the Kaisers placed a German Princess, of Anhalt-Zenbst, afterwards know by the name of Catherine II. upon the throne of Russia, and then excited the Russians to reclaim Lithuania, and the Russian provinces, exciting at the same time the Poles to defend them by promising them succour in case of need.

Meanwhile they persuaded France and England that Poland, united with Lithuania, would become too preponderant.

Whilst the Polish noble Militia (Schlachta)

commanded by the Jesuits, went forth from their country to dispute Russia with the Russians, the Germans themselves made an inroad into ancient Poland itself, and occupied the two capitals of Cracovia, and Warsovia, to the great astonishment of the Schlachta Sovereign, who believed them to have come to aid him, and who looked upon them as his most faithful allies. They however succeeded in persuading the Schlachta that the existence of Poland was absolutely necessary to the equilibrium of Europe, and that anarchy was the principle of life.

The Abbé Mably, in that part of his works in which he speaks of the condition of Poland in 1726, says to the Poles with much sagacity and judgment: "The King of Prussia, and the Empress Queen Maria-Theresa, rule over you, no less than Russia, and these two powers would make you feel the weight of

their authority if the Czarine had not taken upon herself that noble employment. She is only the tool of her two allies, who are very glad that another should commit for them the injustices and vexations which they deem useful to them." Bernardin de St. Pierre says also that Catherine II. was only a tool of the German Courts of Austria and Prussia. This Sovereign only disembarrassed herself of her Russian husband, that she might be able the more easily to deliver over the whole of Ancient Poland to her countrymen at the expense of Russia.

Some German and also Polish authors pretend that it was Russia who first conceived the project of dividing Poland.

But this assertion is entirely void of foundation and rejected by history.

In the Seventeenth Century (1658,) the Swedes invaded a portion of Poland. The

Kaiser, a declared ally of the Poles, immediately occupied the ancient capital town of Cracow. Whilst the Schlachta Sovereign was felicitating himself on Austrian fidelity, and never doubting but that the Kaiser his ally had entered Poland on purpose to save him — the German Count Stippenback, who served under the King of Sweden, proposed by secret negotiation to the Kaiser, the King of Sweden, and to the Duke of Prussia, better known as the Elector of Brandenburg, (a faithful vassal of Poland,) that they should by way of putting an end to their quarrels, divide those countries which were the theatre and occasion of them, and form a league mutually to maintain each other in their occupations.

They accorded to Russia no participation in the dismemberment. Russia had not the

slightest knowledge of the plot formed against Poland.

This negotiation when discovered by the French Ministry filled with alarm the republican Court of Warsovia, which hastened to announce to the Militia Sovereign, that the anarchy of his government would deliver over Poland a prey to its neighbours, as soon as they could agree amongst themselves about the division of so rich a spoil.*

Fonfrède in his exposition "of the republican Institutions of the Monarchy," page 306, says also: "It was Leopold, Emperor of Austria, who principally intrigued to prevent the crown of Poland from becoming hereditary with the view of keeping that

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* Rulhière's History of the Polish Anarchy.

valiant nation in a state of misfortune and anarchy. Thus, absolutism protected republican Institutions." And page 317, the same author says: "Russia and Prussia, following the example of Leopold of Austria, protected the republican Institutions in Poland that they might end by taking from that unhappy country all means of resistance."

It is thus a well attested historical fact, that it was the Kaisers who first conceived the project of politically murdering Poland, and they will be the last to fight for its resurrection, because they know, and are well convinced, that the existence of their monarchy is incompatible with the existence of independent Poland. Many causes hindered and turned aside for a time the committal of this crime. But the indomitable courage of the Schlachta Militia, and their patriotism which showed itself even

through their political and diplomatic ignorance were the principal obstacles. The Germans understood perfectly, that to possess themselves of Poland, they must commence by corrupting, enervating, and demoralizing the Schlachta, the Pretorians, or Janissaries of Poland. This they effected in the course of the Eighteenth Century by placing successively on the Polish throne two German Princes of Saxony, under the names of Augustus II. and Augustus III.

They gave as wives and comptrollers to the first a German named Eberhard Marchioness of Brandenburg, and to the other an Archduchess of Habsburg. It was an easy matter for the German Sovereigns to corrupt the manners of another nation. Germany governed by thirty-six despots, has thirty-five times as many vile mercenaries, and servile, cringing Barons without

dignity or morality, than any other monarchy. To avoid suspicion and calm the disquietude of the Poles, the Germans persuaded them that the independence of Poland is absolutely necessary to the well-being and balance of all the states of Europe, and that anarchy constitutes the vitality and strength of republican government.

The free election of the kings of Poland was one of the principal causes of its anarchy and weakness.

On this account the treaty of alliance between Catherine the Second, and Frederick the Great, contains, amongst other things, the following clause. "As it is in the interest of his Majesty, the King of Prussia, and her Majesty the Empress of Russia, to use every means and effort in their power, to maintain the freedom of election in Poland, and that no one should be allowed to render the said kingdom hereditary in his own

family, his Majesty the King of Prussia, and her Majesty the Empress of Russia, have mutually made the most solemn promise to each other, by this secret compact not only that no one shall be permitted to strip the Republic of its right of free election, or to make the Kingdom hereditary, under any possible circumstance, but also to impede by one common accord, the views and designs of any party, tending to produce this result, as soon as they shall be discovered, and even to have recourse, if necessary, to armed force, to guarantee the republic from the overthrow of its constitution and fundamental laws.

The constitution, therefore, and the republican spirit of the Sovereign Schlachta had no terrors for crowned heads, since a German prince and princess undertook to support and maintain them.

Poland having become enfeebled by cor-

ruption, and exhausted by wars with Russia, the Empress Maria Theresa commanded the literati of Vienna to examine the books and diplomas, to discover what claims she could make to this country.

At the same period the Austrian engineers were surveying the Polish territory about Novytarg and Czoroztyn, drawing lines, and setting up posts bearing the imperial arms.

These operations caused so much alarm to the Polish king Poniatowski, that on the 20th October, 1770, he wrote in the following terms to the Empress Maria Theresa—

"Honored sister!

"The sentiments of loyalty that I have at all times professed for the House of your Imperial Majesty, and I may also add the personal esteem I have for your Majesty's private virtues, are too well known for you to be ignorant of them, and as I have always hoped to find

one of the staunchest friends of Poland, in an Empress whose own equitable, firm, and yet mild government has always excited deep sentiments of admiration in me, it is in the spirit of mutual confidence, that I address myself especially to your Royal and Imperial Majesty, because the maintenance of the privileges of my crown, oblige me to demand of your Majesty, why your generals and engineers have ordered lines to be drawn in the environs of Novytarg, and planted stakes, bearing your Imperial Majesty's arms, in a territory which has belonged to Poland from time immemorial, and been conceded to her without giving rise to the slightest dispute."

To this letter Maria Theresa replied on the 26th of January, 1791, that as soon as the re-establishment of peace between the Turks and the Russians, and the total extinc-

tion of the interior disturbances of Poland had taken place, she would willingly turn her attention to, and endeavour to decide the limits of this republic, and of her kingdom of Hungary; that they would then finally settle these notoriously uncertain and long contested limits; that, nevertheless, she would now, at once, declare her resolution to claim, by virtue of her legal right, and the conditions stipulated at the time, the district of Tips, with all its dependencies; and, as far as concerned the rest, that for the maintenance and the guarantee of past, present, and future rights, the operations already mentioned in his Polish Majesty's letter had been of necessity commenced, and must, by the same necessity be continued."

Rulhière, in his History of the "Anarchy of Poland," remarks, that this line of conduct in so conscientious a Queen, appeared

bold to the Empress Catherine, and, if Frederick can be believed, it contributed mainly to its final partition.

Thus it will be seen, that it was still the Kayser Habsburg who was the first to invade Poland, with the predetermined and eventually realized intent of dividing and appropriating it.

Frederick, of Prussia, and Catherine the Second hastened to imitate the Empress Habsburg. Each seized on that part of Poland which best suited him. Here is the declarations of the three German Sovereigns, signed by the German Baron Stackelberg, the lasting monument of an unparalleled crime in history, which even shook to its foundation European policy.

" The neighbouring powers of Poland have " been so often led into disturbances ex- " cited by insurgents in that kingdom, that

"the remembrance of the past had already "determined them, when the throne became "vacant by the death of Augustus the "Third, to occupy themselves very seriously "with the internal affairs of that kingdom.

"Influenced by this consideration, and at "the same time anxious to prevent the fatal "dissensions which might arise through this "last vacancy the Court of Petersburg used its "utmost endeavours to effect an unanimity "of opinion in the choice of the candidate most "deserving of the throne, and most likely "to promote the happiness of his fellow "Citizens and of the neighbouring states.

"At the same time, the Court of Peters-"burg took upon itself to amend several "abuses in the national constitution. The "Court of Berlin has seconded the steps "taken by its ally, and the Court of Vienna, "wishing to unite its efforts in the success of

"such praiseworthy views, and in order to "avoid the danger of perhaps increasing "difficulties, by increasing the number of "those mixed up in the interior affairs of "Poland, has thought fit to observe a strict "neutrality, not only in this respect, but "with regard to the war which has just been "kindled between Russia and the Ottoman "Porte. From the combination of these "measures, the satisfactory result of the "free and liberal election of the reigning "king Stanislas Augustus, as well as many "other useful regulations has been pro-"duced.

"Every thing appeared concurring to ensure "a future peace to Poland and her neigh-"bours based upon the most solid founda-"tion. Unfortunately, just as every thing "might have been hoped from the present "state of things, the spirit of discord,

arising among a part of the nation destroyed in a moment all these auspicious hopes. The citizens armed against each other; factions usurped the place of legitimate authority; abuses, contempt of the laws, perversion of order, and of public safety arose on every side.

Justice, the police authority, trade, and even the cultivation of the soil ceased together.

So many great and important causes will not allow his Majesty the King of Prussia, her Majesty the Empress of Hungary and of Bohemia, and her Majesty the Empress of Russia, to postpone any longer taking decisive steps in so critical a juncture.

These powers have therefore taken on themselves without further loss of time, and with one common accord, to restore tranquillity and order to Poland, and to esta-

blish on a solid foundation, the ancient constitution of the state and the liberty of the nation.

But in preventing, as they are now doing, by the well-timed and friendly interference caused by the good understanding which at the present moment exists between them, the ruin and the arbitrary division of this kingdom, they may not however always be able to count on a similar degree of success, and they therefore make claim to several considerable possessions of the republic, as they cannot abandon them completely to the chance of events, and they have therefore decreed and determined among themselves to turn to account their ancient and legitimate pretensions, which each of them is prepared to justify in its proper time and place.

In consequence, his Majesty the King o

Prussia, her Majesty the Empress of Hungary and of Bohemia, and her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, having communicated mutually to each other their pretensions and claims, and mutually verified them, will take each an equivalent proportion, as also immediate possession of those parts of Poland, the most convenient for establishing through the future, between them, a more safe and natural boundary, each of the three powers purposing to give subsequently an account of their share of the partition in consideration of which their Majesties renounce all rights, claims, pretensions and accumulations of interests.

The following words attributed to Catherine explain satisfactorily the division of Poland, and delineate fully the characteristics of the European Cabinets.

She observed to the Prussian Prince

Henry, "*I Will frighten Turkey; I will buoy up England with the hope of an advantageous treaty of commerce—do you try to bribe Austria to keep France quiet.*"*

In thus glancing at the dismemberment of Poland, one is led to think that the three despoiling powers mistrusted the aboriginal and native Russians. All the principal actors in it are purely Germans, who rivalled each other in their trickery and rapacity.

Russia merely furnished soldiers to fight, and money wherewith to corrupt the sovereign Schlachta. Here are the names of the principal actors; the Emperor of Hapsburg, the Electors and the Kings of Prussia, and

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* See the Memoirs of the Revolution of Poland found at Berlin. (Paris, 1806.)

Brandenburg, the German Princess Anhalt Zerost, known by the name of Catherine the Second, the Baron Stackelberg, the Count Stippenback Igelstrom, the two Kings of Saxony, miscalled Poles, Augustus the Second and Third, the Count Bruhl, &c., &c.

The evident aim of the Germans was to deliver over Ancient Poland bound hand and foot to Austria and Prussia; therefore, this first division did not satisfy the cupidity of the King of Prussia, who wished to become master of the mouth of the Vistula, and to seize on the commercial towns of Gdanisk, surnamed Dantzic, and of Torun, surnamed Thorn, &c.

To attain this end the Prussian manifested to the insulted republic of Poland his sincere desire to contract a more strict alliance with it. The ambassador of Prussia, Mr. de Lucchesini, haughtily disavowed, in the name of

his master, the idea of a new partition; he maintained, *that the intention of Frederick William was to restore to Poland its former splendor, glory and freedom; and to guarantee Europe from the ambitious designs of the barbarians of the North.* He even insinuated that now was the time to throw off allegiance to Catherine, during the wars in which she was engaged with Turkey, and threatened by Sweden.*

King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, and a few other Poles formed the resolution of uniting with Russia, and of accepting the offensive and defensive alliance which she proposed to the Polish monarch. In abandoning to Russia, Lithuania and the Ruthe-

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* See the tableau politique, &c., by Mr. de Segur.

nian Provinces, the Poles might with her assistance have torn from the Germans the Polish Provinces of which they had taken possession, thus re-establishing ancient Poland.

This policy which was good then does not cease to be equally so in our own time. The Poles ought only to attack and disquiet the two German powers, Austria and Prussia, who will loosen their hold on Poland when they perceive on the one hand the impossibility of keeping the Polish Provinces which they have overrun, and on the other, the possibility of the fusion of the Russians and Poles.*

* The bitter feeling common to the Sclavonians of Eastern Europe is manifest in this passage, but M. Koubrakiewycz, if speaking the sentiments of his race, in alluding to a fusion between the Poles and Russians, refers to Russia under a free and national government. EDITOR.

Excited however by the hypocritical declaration of the King of Prussia, placing too much confidence in German sincerity (Deutsche Biederkeit) and consulting only their passions, the Poles rejected all the propositions of Russia, and delivered over Poland by the constitution of the third of May, 1791, to the German dynasty of Saxony, stripped the Polish peasants, who are the only basis of Polish nationality, of their property in land which they cultivated and possessed—adjudicated this land to the Schlachta, and flew against the Russians.*

The Empress Catherine, at war with the Turks, and threatened by Sweden, was

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† The reader may by reference to the appendix and to the splendid eulogium pronounced on the constitution of the third of May, by Burke, judge the extent of the above misrepresentation of the passage of Polish history alluded to. EDITOR.

forced, or affected to be so, by the Poles themselves to consent to a fresh dismemberment of Poland which the Germans coveted. I say that Catherine affected to be forced to this fresh dismemberment because it would appear that she had secretly engaged herself to deliver the whole of ancient Poland to her two compatriot accomplices.

As soon as she announced her intention of diminishing the Polish territory, the King of Prussia, who formerly declared his intention of maintaining its integrity, who had congratulated the Poles on their choice of the Saxon dynasty, and on the courage they had displayed in resisting the Russian yoke, hastened to secure a share in the spoil and announced the entry of his troops into Great Poland by a declaration of the 25th of March, 1793. In this manifesto Frederick reproaches the Poles "*with their resistance to his councils, and to the well-*

intentioned views of the Empress Catherine; he pitied the misfortunes of a country exposed to anarchy, and affected to experience lively fears for the safety of his own states through the expansion of French principles in Poland.

"*These motives obliged him to take salutary precautions by provisionally taking possession of Thorn, Dantzic and a part of Great Poland, to insure its tranquillity and protect all well intentioned Poles.*"

After the partition of Poland the Kayserinn Maria Theresa took care to propagate in Poland that she had come to a sense of the enormity of her crime and had confessed it to her almoner. She excused herself by saying that she had been drawn into it by Catherine, but that she had asked forgiveness and wept burning tears for the offence.

There is still some christian feeling in

this dynasty of Habsburg," exclaimed, in their simplicity, some of the Polish nobles, who learned this royal and imperial confession.

It is well said by Machiavel, that mankind is so simple, and so accustomed to yield to the times, that he who seeks to deceive will always find dupes willing to be deceived.

During the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Kaiser Francis, to gain the confidence of the Poles, said openly that he was ready to restore the Polish Province termed Gallicia, on condition that Russia and Prussia would restore the parts they possessed of Poland. He said this because he knew beforehand that he would not be taken at his word. He did not hold the same language in 1812, when Napoleon asked of him the restitution of Gallicia to re-establish

Poland—nor when the Poles seriously demanded it of him in 1830.

The taking of Adrianople by the Russians in 1828 spread terror throughout Austria and re-awakened the hypocritical sympathies of the Kaiser for Poland. A secret society was formed in Gallicia to deliver Poland from the Russian yoke. M. Poninski, President of the Semi Secret Society, came to ask of the Austrian Governor, Prince Lobkowicz, a Germanised Bohemian, if in case of an insurrection breaking out against Russia he might count on the active support of the Kaiser — the Governor affecting to be surprised and embarrassed, replied that in so grave a question it was necessary that he should make a report to the Kaiser and took eight days to give his answer. At the expiration of this delay the Governor announced to M. Poninski that the Kaiser's Government, notwithstanding its sympathy

for the Poles, could not and would not have any knowledge of this secret society, that the Austrian Government even *advised* the conspirators to dissolve it. This negative answer confirmed the Poles in the confidence they had in the Kaiser because it was announced in such a manner as left it to be understood that propriety and diplomatic reservation alone forbade one more formally favorable.

The Polish insurrection of 1831 was aroused by the French Revolution, of which it came in aid, for Poland was not ripe for a successful disengagement from the Foreign yoke. This insurrection was simply one more Polish sacrifice in favor of France.

Austria sold the insurgents several thousand muskets at 60 francs a piece, allowed the emigration of all the Gallician enthusiasts who went to the assistance of Russian

Poland, and sent to its frontiers a corps of observation of from twenty to twenty-five thousand men.

At St. Petersburg, Austria said that the destination of this corps was to make the Austrian territory and Monarchical principles respected by the insurrectionary Government of Warsaw. Elsewhere it caused it to be understood or rather guessed that this corps was destined to act against the Russians as soon as the opportunity arrived.

The evident object of the Austrian Cabinet was to force the Russian Emperor to return to the partition of Poland of 1795 before the Treaty of Tilsit, that is to say, to cede to the Sovereigns of Austria and Prussia the whole of ancient Poland on the left bank of the Vistula, and to attain this end, the Germans advised the Poles to

remove the theatre of war to Russia, and to send the Polish army to Lithuania.

General Chlopicki opposed this insane plan of those amongst the Poles under the influence of the German Courts; he foresaw and defeated the Prusso-Austrian snare, laying before his antagonists this objection: "Whether I am beaten by the Russians, or whether I beat them, Poland will be equally destroyed, because if I am beaten Russia will destroy Poland. If on the contrary I beat the Russians, then Poland will be invaded and destroyed by the German Courts of Vienna and Berlin." The dictator Chlopicki demanded from the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, a frank and explicit declaration with regard to Poland, but only received evasive answers. It would appear as if all intervention on the part of France direct or indirect at the Court of St. Petersburg, in favor of

Polish nationality, is rather hurtful beneficial to Poland; and only of a tage to the German courts of Berlin Vienna, who with this aid get the bet the Russian Cabinet.

As long as the Germans continue, in of the treaty of the congress of Vien extirpate the Polish language in the I provinces, of which they have taken p sion since 1771, to smother the Sclav spirit, they must be considered more hurtful enemy to Polish natio than Russia. Since the introductic Catholicism into Poland, the Germans exercised and still exercise a most pern influence over Polish prosperity and n ality.

On the one side is arrayed a corrupt ci ation—positive and practical intelligen speculative and mercantile spirit—mea

avaricious opulence—hypocritical frankness—disciplined coolness, and the national protestanism of Germany ; on the other hand is arrayed blind confidence, frivolous imagination, chivalrous spirit, ardent but blind and disorderly passions, prodigal indigence, ingenuous hypocrisy, the foriegn Catholicism of Italy, and the privileges of favored classes. If the faith of the Poles in the German and Papal Courts should cool, England, the faithful ally of Austria, is there to re-kindle it.*

The German censured press exaggerates now the dangers which threaten the liberty and independence of Europe from the Rus-

* As long as our government bonds with cabinets against races, and as long as through ignorance and indifference the organs of our press allow themselves to be unwittingly made instruments of the former we must expect such reproaches. EDITOR.

sian Collosus—it tries thereby to ala England, but more especially France.

Austria and Prussia employ all diploma means to excite France against Russia, a Russia against France. It is through animosities of these two countries that German Courts hope to obtain possession the remainder of Ancient Poland and It without striking a blow. They do not f the power of Russia, where there many generals and other high fu tionaries or agents, Germans by birth origin, and where they can dispose of Poles, assured of their sympathy ; but tl fear the political power of France : tl have got sufficient resources and influer as well as a sufficiently firm footing to be a to repel all aggression or danger which mi really menace them from that quar After all it is intelligence which governs

world; and the intellectual power of Russia is nothing. In this quarter there is perhaps only to be dreaded the facility with which the German Princes allow themselves to be bought, and the corruptive liberality of the Russian Court.

The German sovereigns, bound together by a federative bond, united by relationship, assist each other mutually, whenever it is a question of invading, Germanising, and oppressing a foreign people, or of seizing a foreign throne.

They have filled the whole of Europe with their aristocratical dynasties: they are to be found in England, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Poland, Russia, etc.; they seat their princes and princesses on all foreign thrones, but they do not allow strangers to ascend the thrones of Germany.

They look upon themselves as the nursery

of hereditary absolute royalty, of which the foundation is the Court of Vienna. The dynasty of Habsburg being anti-national to five-sixths of the population of the whole Empire, could not maintain itself upon the throne, nor could the Empire exist, unless by the maintenance of an absolute government. Every sentiment of humanity, patriotism, nationality, or liberty, must necessarily frighten this dynasty and its paternal government. The Austrian Government is the only one in Europe the existence of which depends entirely on the maintenance of despotism; and for that reason it is looked upon by all Princes, as the centre of royalty. We may daily witness with what address and perseverance Austria knows how to interest all the legitimatists and all the Princes of Europe in the maintenance of the paternal Government, which is useful and

necessary solely to itself. For this purpose these Princes make pilgrimages to Vienna, that they may be duly instructed in the principles and mysteries of this said paternal government, sign an act and take an oath of fidelity to the Holy Alliance. It is not without reason that Vienna is called Spelunca Latronum.

In the Monarchial Congresses, the German Confederation is sure to have the preponderance, and the bulk of the booty; because the number of crowned German heads are far greater than any others. The Germans absorbed to themselves more than half the indemnities extorted from France by the Coalition of 1814 and 1815.

At that time, multiplying themselves to the number of forty independent states, they first demanded war imposts, as sovereigns of Germany; secondly, an indemnity for their

subjects, as the protectors and fathers of their people; and lastly, personal presents; whilst all the time standing towards France in the position of traitors to their engagements. The struggle of the Greeks, and the naval combat of Navarino, won by the French, the English, and the Russians, has only up to the present profited the German Princes, that is to say, to the Bavarian Germans, who colonize and plunder Greece. All the money supplied to Greece by the non-Germanic protective powers, served solely to augment the royal and dynastic treasury of Bavaria. If, by giving to Greece a German Prince as King, the three protective Courts had in view the corruption of Greek manners, the impoverishment of the Greeks and the suppression of their patriotism, they acted with

perfect consistency, and could hardly have chosen or succeeded better.

Germany is the only civilised power in Europe which extends its yoke over and keeps under its orders thirty-six millions of different races to its own;—strangers to its own whom it nationalizes, and impoverishes. Disciplined destitution, accustomed to suffer hunger, thirst, cold and heat, to support patiently fatigue and blows inured to hopeless labour, become a terrible army in the hands of a wealthy and intelligent Court. The selfishly mercantile spirit of the Germanic Sovereigns, and especially of the Sovereigns of Austria and Prussia, their coolness, their insatiable avidity of gain, their profound knowledge of religious politics, makes them infinitely more dangerous to liberty and humanity than the Sovereigns of Turkey and Russia.

Besides which, Germany is essentially commercial, and the Germans, from the effects of their demoralization, and their servile spirit, are voluntary tools and slaves of their sovereigns; whilst the Russians and all the Sclavonians are essentially and almost exclusively agriculturists; and are only tools to their sovereign because forced to become so, and through the absence of civilization.

We are poor, say the Brandenburgs, and Habsburgs, to their subjects; and, whilst hiding their millions, they persuade them that they are so. We are rich; we have two hundred millions in the bank; we do not fear all Europe put together, exclaimed a statesman, a French minister, in 1840. Take care, gentlemen of France and hide carefully your two hundred millions, if you possess them.

The despots of Austria, of Prussia,

a, will only have to repeat your words
ir half barbarous, hungry, and well
ined Italians, Hungarians, Illyrians,
tians, Bohemians, Moravians, Tyrolese,
ns, Croatians, Poles, Austrians, Ger-
Bavarians, &c., whose blood they never
and whose numbers they never reckon.
was not the rich who devoured the
ı Empire, but the ragged Germans,
.) Carthage was attacked and perished
n account of her wealth. Sixty thou-
poor Greeks or Macedonians, con-
l gilded armies, numbering one million
sians, commanded by Darius. It
ıe poor French republicans who de-
. the soil of their country, and re-
the invasion of the innumerable
: of the banded slaves of the whole of
ə : who made the despots tremble on
hrones, encircled as they were by faithful

legitimatists, the body-guard of despotism. It was they who raised France to the highest pitch of fame and prosperity, who caused its name and glory to resound throughout the whole universe, and gained for it the esteem and admiration of all nations as well as of all despots. It was the French *millionaires*, the titled royalists, who abandoned the soil of their country in the hour of danger; it was they who raised foreign despots, against France and introduced them into it in 1814 and 1815; it was they who destroyed, and abased their country; who made the whole universe resound with their mean spirited pusillanimity, and who drew down upon France the contempt of all nations.

Those who pretend that peace is necessary to Europe, are right if they mean internal as well as external peace; but they are wrong if they mean only the

absence of war between one power and another, Exterior peace is useful and necessary only to the despots of Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria; it is disastrous to all subjugated people, and it is even hurtful to people who govern themselves like France; because it is during the period of external peace that the German despots make use of their armies against their subjects, from whom they mercilessly extort money; heaping up treasures and encompassing France by ragged and servile mendicants, who inundate and infest it. It is only during an external war that they accord them a little respite, and that they draw upon their own hoarded millions.

The system of the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria, is to keep their subjects always poorer, than those of their neighbouring states. By this system they

prevent foreign importation, smuggling, luxury, and the desire for foreign travel; exciting them to foreign exportation, where every thing is dearer than with them.

Whilst in France an effort is made to raise the home consumption, the German sovereigns only endeavour to augment the exports, and to diminish the home consumption, because it diminishes the net revenue of the treasury.

Hence, the resources of France, without taking into account its enormous debt, are scattered, and more apparent than real; whilst those of the Germanic confederation are concentrated and more real than apparent. In Austria, it is the State, that is to say the Kaiser, who is rich, who possesses millions in gold and silver; it is the subjects who are poor, and who possess nothing but paper money, the value of which depends

entirely on the will of the Sovereign. The Germans are in general, cold parsimonious calculators, and unfeeling egotists, who understand much better how to preserve, than to acquire wealth, and are better pleased at being rich, than with appearing to be so. The French, on the contrary, are prodigal, enterprising, humane, full of generous and expansive sentiments. They have sympathies with all the world, and for all that is beautiful, grand, humane, fantastic, or chimerical. Their delight is to appear rich, even when they are poor. This difference of character joined to the confidence which the French have in their constitutional government, and the perfect equilibrium betwixt the revenue and the expenses of the State causes nearly all the specie, to be in circulation, and the same sum circulating in France, with three or four times the

rapidity with which it does in Germany, appears to be three or four times greater than it really is.

Money is only a representative of the value of necessaries or conveniences of life. The more abundant money, the less merchandise it represents. Now the Sovereigns of Germany Austria, and Prussia, whose revenues far exceed their expenses, gather together treasures during the time of peace, but hide the specie from circulation and withdraw them from the commerce of the world.

By this abstraction of specie, they make all merchandise cheaper in their own States than in France or England. Their impoverished subjects must always offer merchandise to foreigners, and are never able to buy any themselves, because they are in want of money. Exportation therefore naturally

very much surpasses importation. Hence money, which being all in circulation, and consequently more abundant in France or England, finds there, like a fluid, its own level, flows in Prussia and Austria, slowly but unceasingly into the treasures of Austrian and Prussian and other treasure-hoarding governments.

The sovereign of Austria may be compared to Tantalus, or Crœsus, as to wealth, though they propagate both abroad and in their own States the report that they are poor: firstly because voluntary poverty gives an appearance of nobility of character and sentiments, and secondly that they can with impunity, under the pretext of state necessities, extort from and oppress their loving subjects, palliate their avarice and dispense with furnishing assistance to unfortunates, suffering from fire or

other calamities: and lastly because they know it is dangerous to hoard up or accumulate millions amidst pauper populations of regimented slaves. All would be lost in Austria if the Landesknechts (military), who are only paid in paper money, learnt that their Kaiser hid millions* in gold and silver. The Kaiser Francis the First, who died in 1835, must have left to his son and successor to the throne crown, property to the value of more than four hundred and fifty millions of florins, currency (fifty millions sterling) in gold and silver, without reckoning the hereditary portions of his other children.

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* The author here repeats, and gives credit, to the rumour occasioned by the oppressive rapacity of the Austrian Government. In reality these sums are greatly exaggerated.

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The King of Prussia, who reigned before the last, must have left to his legitimate and illegitimate heirs thirty three millions of thalers (about five millions sterling), without reckoning the crown treasure.

Instead of proclaiming—"We have two millions in the bank—we are rich." It would be more in conformity with the truth, and more politic for the French to say "we are poor, because the neighbouring despots, by oppressing their subjects, render them beggars in contact with whom we can only lose."

The Germanic agents of despotism write a great deal against French love of conquest at the present day, and exalt the mildness of paternal German absolutism.

They call upon the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine and others to become or

remain Austrian, Prussian, or Bavarian slaves.

There is nothing surprising or astonishing in these manifestations.

Slaves are proud of the riches of, and of the possession of a large number of slaves by their masters.

They therefore call upon the whole world to unite itself to them; but what proves the venality and corruption of these German writers is their bad faith, and an utter want of conscience.

In one sense to appropriate a territory or nation is to make it one's property, to draw from it all its resources to augment one's own. Italy, Hungary, Moravia, Silesia, Bohemia, Poland, Dalmatia, are conquests of the German sovereigns, who looking upon these Provinces as farms, and the subjugated populations as a flock whom they have a

right to drive, tax, and take advantage of to their own uncontrolled and exclusive profit. But liberal France with its half democratic government cannot make any such conquests in Europe, she can only unite herself with the Belgian Luxemburghers, the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine and others, for the general safety of persons and property. The German despots would lose, but the German people would gain by such an event. From slaves that they are, the Germans, by their union with the French, would become free citizens.

The mercenary and venal writers themselves, the German non-reigning Barons and Princes, who, as we shall see, in the article on penal justice, are subject to the blows of the stock (stick), would be happier united to France then they are under Kayser or Koenig.

The German sovereigns keep under their civilized [illegible] [illegible]-six millions of people belonging to foreign races, not German, it therefore ill becomes the German sovereigns to cry out against the spirit of conquest of France.

France would never send to Brussells, Cologne, Venice, or Milan, a Satrap under the name of *Landes-Gouverneur*, *Landsvogt*, *Landrath*, *Landsknecht*.

The civil list of this constitutional King of France would never be clandestinely augmented, fifty or sixty millions a year to the prejudice of allied countries.

France does not wish for conquests in Europe, she does not want them—but she desires and ought to desire to unite her moral, political, and physical strength with that of adjacent countries to augment her means of defence against the

tyranny and avidity of despots. The geographical, social, and political position of France, is such, that she must either undergo the influence of absolution and become tributary to German despots, as the whole of Sclavonia is become without excepting the Russians governed and worked upon to the profit of the Germans, or she must force the absolute Sovereigns to enfranchise their subjects.*

The liberty and prosperity of France depend on the liberty and prosperity of other countries, and this is the reason why all popular movements in France find so much sympathy amongst the subjugated

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* The reigning family of Romanoff is really the House of Holstein Goltorp, whilst the majority of Russian empolyés are degenerate Germans.

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countries, and are received with such hatred by their sovereigns.

This is why French royalty, exposed to the pernicious influence and suggestions of the crowned despots—and otherwise established, as we shall shew elsewhere, on a false basis, had always an inclination to become despotic.

The position of England is quite different, the reaction of the Continent on her, (with the exception of commercial action) is deadened by the British Channel. Her government, whether absolute or constitutional, is less interesting to continental sovereigns.

The liberty and prosperity of the English people are more independent and isolated, from those continental nations, and less reciprocal.

The policy of the British government,

whether under a democratical, aristocratical, or monarchical form, will never be towards other states anything but commercial, and in this capacity it will become the interest of England, sooner or later, to impede the cultivation of the land by the white slaves of Austria and Russia, for the advantage of her land-holders, in the same manner that she opposes herself in her commercial interests to the manufactory of sugar by black slaves.

CHAPTER II.

INTERIOR LEGISLATION AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

MORAL as well as physical laws are not to be given or imposed, but emanate or are derived from the individual, the society, or object to whom they relate.

Whatever an absolute Sovereign or society may prescribe, without my authorisation or consent, is the law of this Sovereign, or of this

society, but not mine, since not emanating from me.

Man is an animal endowed with reason —an organized state or world within himself. Reason, which alone distinguishes him from animals, is his legislative—will, his executive power—and the limbs of his body are his subjects. Man as a state, as an organized world, may be in communication with other men his equals, but he is not intended by nature to be absorbed by, or subjected to them; all subjection of one man to another is contrary to nature, and either proves violence exercised or defective intellect.

If we consult only practice, it would be difficult to give a general definition of law. In France and England law is a rule prescribed by the electors, the Houses of Parliament, and the sovereign. In Switzerland and the United States, it is a decision of the

the Government High Police. The absolutism of Russian Sovereigns is bridled sometimes for good, but much oftener for evil by the senate ;* and is rather personal than dynastical, rather arbitrary and disorderly than methodical and systematical.

The Czars, by personally interfering in affairs, and causing decisions to be given in their name, expose their passions and weaknesses ; and by their violence compromise the *prestige* of their infallibility and sanctity ; but they shew sometimes compassion for distress, and nearly always generously remunerate military services and devotion to their person. In Austria, on the contrary,

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* The Author is mistaken in this point. Neither at the presént or at any period since its institution has the Russian Senate, in the faintest degree, influenced the conduct of the Tsars or their ministers.

EDITOR.

despotism is dynastic and legal; the name of the Emperor is not pronounced in any decision; everything is done in the name of the law; the Kaiser himself is hidden behind his befehl. The most atrocious cruelties are committed in the name of the law. The Kaiser never shews clemency because not he, but the law condemns.

Pereat mundus, fiat justitia, let the world perish, but let justice be done, says the Kaiser. He is never generous, because every thing is owing to him, and no one owes him anything. In Russia they teach that the Czar has the right of doing whatsoever he pleases; in Austria the people are taught and persuaded that the Kaiser can only do what the law ordains.

The absolutism of the Kaisers is more methodic and prudent than that of the Sultans or Czars; thus, the revolts which break

out in Austria, are always suppressed before they acquire consistency. There is, however, no part of Poland where misery and oppression is so great as in Austrian Poland; nor is Polish nationality any where so ill treated as it is in Austria. It is true that the Austrian Government enjoys this advantage unknown to other governments, that in all its undertakings to oppress a foreign country, it is powerfully aided by the Germanic press, and by the Germans, who are disseminated throughout all countries and classes, and who, under different disguises, introduce themselves into every public and secret society, in order to betray them to their despots. Hungary, which is the most fertile country in Europe, and which has a sort of constitution, enjoys little greater happiness under the Austrian rule than either Gallicia or Bohemia without any.

The Russian government permits the existence of the social, democratic, organization of the Cossacks of the island of Rovno* near Riga; he endows the German university of Trappau, and allows privileges to the Germans of Courland and Livonia, where they introduced themselves in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the disguise of christian missionaries, but in fact to carry on their various trades; and where they ended by rendering themselves the masters

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* Only as long as the Cossacks were, or continue, instruments useful in extending the dominion of Russia. The priveleges of the Cossacks are already undergoing constant abrogation. The Don Cossacks, for instance, have been deprived of all their franchises by Nicholas, who has introduced slave colonies of Muscovites into their territory.

Editor.

† Britannical Review, July, 1842.

and oppressors of the Sclavonian people.* In Austria, all is despotically organized after the servile Germanic mode. The Polish noblemen Zaboklicki Vincent, Zalewski Léon and others who freed their peasants from the yoke, were looked upon by the Austrian government as rebels, condemned, *ad corcerem durissimum*, and sent to Spielberg. The Russian government engages the nobles to grant freedom to their serfs.†

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* The population of these provinces, termed "Balhe provinces,"—as the bulk of it continues to be—was not Sclavonian but a mixture of the Finnish with another people, a distinct race from either the Finns or Sclavonians, and of which the *Lives*, *Kures*, and *Letti* are supposed to have been branches, EDITOR.

† But without ever permitting them to do so. Russia introduced slavery amongst the eight millions of the Russo Polish provinces. Nicholas has introduced serfdom amongst the five millions of free peasants in the Polish Kingdom (Editor).

In order to be more sheltered from all attack, and all reproach of absolutism, the Kaisers transfer the charge of the management of the government mechanism, to a minister who bears the title of High Chancellor, and who is commonly styled in Poland, Austrian Visier, in consequence of the analogy of his functions and authority with those of the Grand Visier in Turkey. The two other ministers of police and finance, as well as all the presidents of tribunals and chanceries, are mere clerks of this Grand Chancellor.

The administration of all political and judicial affairs is concentrated in Vienna. Political affairs, comprising those of the clergy and of religion, are managed, or decided without appeal, by the Chancellor of the court (Holfkanzelei). Financial affairs

are managed by the Kaiser himself, and by the chamber of accounts (Hofkammer).

The Austrian empire consists of divers people, and provinces. At the head of each province, excepting Hungary, there is a governor, who has his council, called Gubernium. The counsellors, the secretaries, and other officers which compose the Gubernium, are named by the Kaiser or by his chancery. The governor has a right to decide on all matters even against the advice of his council. He is the political representative; and in cases of necessity or of danger, the absolute master of the province.

The chiefs of the temporal and spiritual army, the generals and officers, the Archbishops, Bishops, and Priests, the officials employed, and all his subjects owe him a blind obedience. In consequence of this

absolute power, he is called in Gallicia the Kaiserial Satrap.

As to the management of the affairs and political administration, Gallicia is divided into nineteen circles. At the head of each circle is placed an agent, who has the title of captain of the circle. He has five or six commissaries under his orders, a doctor of the circle, an engineer, a secretary, a protocolist, an accountant, two or three counsellors, five or six landsdragons, and five or six aspirants, who labour gratis for four or six years, in the hopes of an eventual employ of one or two hundred florins (10*l* or 20*l*) a year.

Every circle has a treasury, composed of a cashier, a comptroller, and two subalterns. This treasury receives all the contributions, exactions, penalties, tributes, etc.

For the arrangement of Political matters,

there is a Burgomaster named by the Gubernium, and paid by the town; in the village there are also noblemen who are government agents, and who, by way of recompence, enjoy the unprofitable toil, of which they and the Kaiser divide the revenue.

The general administration of Gallicia is so directed that none but Germans, and German Jews, are to be seen in the towns. Almost the whole of the Polish population, divided into tyrannic nobles, and enslaved peasants, is confined to the rural districts, The Polish peasantry are forbidden to establish themselves in the towns without the consent of their lords, and as it is the peasantry who constitute all the wealth of the nobles, these latter are especially careful not to grant them this permission.

To extirpate the Polish race, and Germanize Poland, there are stations of German

colonies placed from distance to distance, and more especially towards the Russian frontier. All the colonists, without exception, are of the Protestant religion, and enjoy many priveleges, amongst others, that of not being subjected to the military conscription. The Polish population alone furnishes soldiers to the Kaiser. Having myself been a member of the Austrian government, I had an opportunity of convincing myself by the authentic documents of 1775, called *Fassions*, that the aboriginal population of the country was much greater in the year of the Austrian invasion, 1772, than in 1829. The government, by means of the conscription, selects and carries off the handsomest and most robust of the Polish youths for the military service ; the nobles are permitted to cruelly ill-treat a portion of them, a great many are allowed to perish from

want and inanition, and only those are suffered to live in the country who are absolutely necessary for the cultivation of the land. With good reason, therefore, the German Press felicitates the Austrian and Prussian governments, on their extension of the German frontiers, and says, that the Germanic elements begin to prevail in Poland. Gallicia, after seventy-three years of the paternal administration of Austria, is found at this moment to be in an infinitely inferior state with regard to national wealth, than it was in the Seventeenth Century, after the ravages of the Tartars, Turks, and Swedes These barbarians, at least, respected the Catholic Churches, whilst the Austrians have pillaged them.

Commerce, which is a source of riches to free nations, is in Polish Austria but an excuse for misery, the government favoring by every possible means, foreign exportation

because it can, with greater facility, take possession of the money.

No prohibition exists against the establishment of any kind of manufactory in Gallicia; on the contrary, every Austrian subject is permitted to establish them, but permission must be obtained from the government, and this permission is rendered nearly unattainable by the numberless conditions imposed upon it. The requisite formula are protracted by the obligation of, first, presenting a petition to the Burgomaster, then to the circle, after that to the Gubernium, and at length, after having bought the support of all these offices, to the Aulic chancery at Vienna.

The peculiar tax of which the Kaiser exacts payment before the establishment can be opened, is so high and arbitrary that

since the Austrian invasion, no manufactory, of any kind whatsoever, has been established. The paternal policy of the Kaiser demands that Poland should be an agricultural country, and that it should be dependent on the German provinces for its manufactures. In the whole of Austrian Poland, there is only one manufactory of coarse cloth, at Mikulince. The proprietor of this manufactory, Mr. Konopka, in the year 1821, or 1822, demanded of the Kaiser Francis, at the time of his visit to Gallicia, the loan of 40,000 florins, for the purpose of extending his manufactory. The Kaiser promised the loan, at five per cent., on mortgage, accepted the breakfast M. Konopka offered him and his suite, consisting of an immense number of German Barons, and induced his complaisant host, to address a petition to him on his return to Vienna. Mr. Konopka

did not fail to conform to the orders of his Kaiser, and to strengthen his petition, produced all the titles and documents, to prove that the value of his property and manufactories were more than sufficient to cover the mortgage of 40,000 florins demanded to be lent; and feeling certain, as the Kaiser had given his word, of succeeding in his request, commenced the works of extension and embellishment. But what was his astonishment, when he received a negative answer. He still, however, thought in his simplicity that the Kaiser had forgotten his promise, or that he had not read his petition; he therefore addressed himself again to the Kaiser in person, when a second refusal convinced him that the Austrian system was more powerful than the word of the Kaiser. As the Kaiser does nothing without first consulting his council of state,

this council had at once exposed the danger which might accrue to the throne, from the agglomeration of a multitude of workmen, in a conquered country, and also to German industry from the establishment of so large a manufactory in Poland. Mr. Konopka was therefore obliged to content himself, with the satisfactory reflection, of having given an imperial breakfast, at a cost of 2000 florins (£200). The Polish nobleman Miaczinski, after enormous expenditure, obtained permission to establish a cloth manufactory at Zalosce. He constructed work-shops, store-houses, and magazines. He brought his instruments, tools, and mechanism from England, engaged his workmen, and according to Belehl informed the government that he was going to open a manufactory; the government took note of this intimation, but reminded

him that, under a heavy penalty, he was bound to pay to the government 10,000 florins (£1,000) a year, as the price of its permission. M. Miaczinski, alarmed at the enormity of this tax, and uncertain as to the eventual returns of his speculation, first adjourned the opening, and finally abandoned the enterprise, not having been able to obtain a diminution of the tax. To be allowed to establish a pharmacy, or any warehouse for the sale of ironwork or colonial produce, etc. etc., permission must first be obtained from the Aulic Chancery at Vienna, and these concessions are almost exclusively reserved for Germans. As, in France and England, capital is chiefly possessed by individuals who govern, in the former but especially in the latter country instead of increasing the amount of taxation on the rich to cover the expenditure of the State,

debts are contracted in order that t
may find investment for their capital—
citizen legislators are rich, the State is p
—Austria is the precise converse. To incr
the net revenue of the Treasury, taxa
is increased, debts are only apparently c
tracted, and as a speculation. The St
that is to say, the Kaiser, is rich, his s
jects—there are no citizens—are poor.
indigence of the people renders useless
prohibitory laws put in force in England
France. Rich Austrians are not seen
velling for pleasure abroad, nor buy
French wines, but many poor Germ
and German beggars are seen in all
countries. In constitutional monarc
the very soul of finance is the systen
debt, in the absolute government of Aust
on the contrary, it is economy.

There is not a single town in Gallicia whose corporation has debts, all being economical, and lending out their money to the nobility and rich citizens, at five per cent on legal mortgage. The Emperor being at once guardian, trustee, and the supreme administrator of the churches, towns, and every other community, as soon as a town has contrived to scrape together some savings, these are gathered into his treasury. It is thus that the Emperor Francis, having learned, during his visit to Gallicia, in 1817, that the town of Leopol, had saved four hundred thousand florins in Dutch ducats, (forty thousand pounds) had this gold immediately seized and carried to Vienna, under a strong escort.

All these transactions are enveloped in the greatest mystery. The government officials, acquainted with the fact, would be

cashiered and sentenced to condign punishment, if it could be proved that they had disclosed this state secret, as it might be construed into an accusation of avarice against the sacred person of the Emperor, which tended to estrange the love of his faithful subjects.

Money being the sole aim of the internal and external policy of the Emperors, they do not hesitate to employ any means for its acquisition, or in their endeavours to economise it.

The arrival of the Emperor in Gallicia, was announced several months previously. A month before-hand the hostel of the the black eagle at Jaroslau, where the Emperor and his suite were to sup, sleep, and breakfast, was ordered to be prepared for the occasion.

The governor gave the order to the

captain of the district, he again to the burgomaster, and finally the burgomaster to Madame Piekna, (the landlady of the hotel, a widow with five young children,) to embellish and refurnish her hotel for the reception of the august guests.

Madame Piekna was unanimously congratulated by her fellow citizens on this distinction.

It was even currently reported that his Majesty had chosen this hotel in preference to any other, for the purpose of assisting this poor widow, whose fortune was in a bad state, and who was deploring the death of her husband; this was the more readily believed that she was generally known for her piety and exemplary exercise of the duties of the Catholic Religion. A fortnight before the arrival of his Majesty, the Hotel was surrounded by police, cavalry, and infantry—no one was allowed to enter.

Madame Piekna did not hesitate at any expense, and caused all the embellishments to be executed which had been recommended by the burgomaster, engineer, and captain of the Circle. At last, on the day named, his Majesty, accompanied by M. Metternich and a numerous suite of courtiers, arrived—supped—slept — breakfasted, paid twenty five florins (three pounds sterling), and left for Leopol. Madame Piekna went to the burgomaster and threatened to bring him before the judge as answerable for the expense and loss which the Kaiser's visit had occasioned her. The burgomaster had the Order of the Court of the Circle read to her. She addressed herself to the Court of the Circle, which proved to her that it had only acted in conformity with the command of the gubernium, and lastly, applied to the Emperor himself, and was informed that she had the right of citing the imperial treasury

before a court composed of the creatures of the Emperor. The poor widow was consequently ruined and reduced to beggary.

The emperors being absolute masters over the fortunes of their subjects, are at great pains to induce foreign princes to visit Vienna, to take the baths of Karlsbad, and to spend their money liberally. They have more interest than constitutional governments generally, in making advantageous treaties of commerce; they are less inclined to make concessions than constitutional governments, because although always appearing to act for the interests of their subjects, they only do so in reality for their own.

All the money earned by their subjects from strangers, finds its way little by little into their treasury, whence it only emerges in times of the utmost necessity.

It is severely forbidden to make subscrip-

tions for foreigners who may have suffered by conflagrations, inundations, or earthquakes without the consent of government. It is likewise forbidden to play in foreign lotteries, but the Austrian citizens are allowed to gamble away their manors or estates, and to sell the tickets to foreigners, because the seller is obliged to pay the emperor in advance, 10 per cent, of the price set upon it, which often considerably exceeds its real value.

It is also in consequence of a financial speculation, that provisions and rent are considerably dearer at Vienna, than in any other town in the empire, because Vienna is the city where the ambassadors and the principal foreigners reside. In this it is the contrary of Paris, where provisions are cheaper than in the provinces. It was equally the effects of a financial speculation which drew

to Vienna the congress of all the European Sovereigns in 1815, enriched with the booty of France.

The Austrian policy is too greedy and too timid to endure many wealthy private individuals. Therefore there are hardly any capitalists in Gallicia. There is however no rule without an exception, Monsieur Alexander Starzynski inherited from his father considerable landed property, and one hundred thousand Dutch ducats.

As soon as the Emperor became acquainted with the fact, he gave Monsieur Starzynski the title of Count, with its tax of £600, made him his chamberlain, and called him to Vienna, to deliver into his hands the keys of his new chamberlainship.

Madame Starzynski had a son; the Emperor stood godfather to the child. The

fortunate favorite did not perceive the snare laid for him; he let himself be seduced by the German Barons, spent his money with princely magnificence, borrowed at five, then at ten, and lastly, at twenty, thirty, forty, per cent; till at length, he became insolvent, and was obliged to return to Gallicia, there to meditate in silence over the vanity of human greatness.

To economise the expenses of a representative, and at the same time to ruin Prince Esterhazy, he was sent as ambassador to England.

Esterhazy, being a Hungarian, is too high-minded to accept a salary from his Emperor, and undertook to defray the expenses of his ambassadorship out of his private fortune; but, as Austrian policy mistrusts Hungarian, Italian, and Polish patriotism, care is taken to have him

accompanied by an adviser of pure German origin, who watches over his actions, and reports them to the Government.

Conviction, the fear of consequences, love, and religion, are the chief incentives of all our actions. As it is almost impossible to establish general and identical conviction, the Government, in order duly to exercise its functions, has recourse to fear, through the severity of the law, and to religion, through the intermedium of the priests. Professors, tribunals, soldiers, and priests, all contribute towards rendering sacred the person of the Emperor, and to causing his commands to be at once loved and respected. Blind obedience is required to the ordinances of all public functionaries, even when diametrically opposed to higher commands, because these agents have alone the power of interpreting and applying the laws efficaciously.

We take care of things according as we love them ; love is alike the cause, and soul of preservation. The Emperor loves his subjects and the soil of his empire, because they are either useful or necessary to his preservation or to the increase of his treasures.

For the preservation of a republican state or constitutional monarchy, the legislative body of citizens must love their country above every thing.

Those citizens who prefer the preservation of the head of their government, to the preservation of their country itself are unworthy of the name of citizens; they are more the tools of this royal chief, than the legislators of their country, they would not hesitate at placing themselves at the head, or in the ranks of a foreign and mercenary army, to fight against their country, for the preservation of their Idol.

A great statesman, a minister of France, and at the same time a great writer, Monsieur Guizot, observed in the House of Deputies in 1845,

"Our position is not straightforward, we have not a truly representative government."

Yes, the real elements and basis of a representative government are wanting in France. It is in vain for this heroic and generous nation to overthrow the absolutism of the throne, and to proclaim a free government, as long as the hierarchy of the Romish clergy exists, whose organization is eminently despotic, and which is governed by a foreign despot, resident at Rome—as long as the priests look upon themselves as the ministers, or rather the grand visiers of God, and absolute masters over the fate of those whom they call, in derision—children of God, as long as one half

the electors, and the elected shall be composed of those so called French citizens, who seem always happy to sacrifice the happiness of France, for that of their new made King. France will never enjoy, for a continuance, the blessing of liberty.

The catholic clergy can never give its spiritual support to any but an absolute form of government, because it is only an absolute government that would cause its exorbitant and preternatural power to be respected as accorded by revelation, (viz.) miraculous transubstantiation, arbitrary and definitive remission of sins, &c.

The freer a people, the more the authority and the execution of the laws should be punctually and severely observed ; because the citizens, the framers of those laws, would think themselves authorised in infringing them at the caprice of the moment ; or when

the laws imposed too much restraint, or when they were not executed in accordance with their notions. In Austria, the legislation is, as we are prepared to show, inhuman, its authority barbarous, its execution pitiless. In France, the legislation is generally equitable; authority mild; but the execution of the laws is often paralysed, either by the pernicious influence of the electors and elected, or by an opposition often entirely devoid of principle, and of the political information alike necessary to a journalist, or a member of the legislation. At others it is blinded by passion or actuated by sordid or selfish feelings; and composed, in a great measure, of a party, who will only recognize an absolute monarchical form of government.

If ever Protestant Germany should become constitutional, its government will be

established on a more solid basis, than that of France, because its evangelic form of worship is more national and more democratic than the catholic; its priests are citizens and fathers of families, and obey a national and temporal authority.

It will struggle to eclipse France, whose government wants a spiritual foundation, and to become the centre of European civilisation.

The Austrian censorship is far more systematically arbitrary than that of any other of the absolute states.

The introduction and reading of newspapers and Polish books, printed in Russian Poland, were, until the insurrection of Poland, in 1830, even more strenuously forbidden than French books and newspapers. In order to persuade and force the Poles indirectly to learn German, a little more liberty

is accorded to German than to the Polish authors.

All that is destined to appear in print, all drawings, engravings, and paintings, must pass a censorship, and meet with its approval.

It is forbidden for Austrian subjects to have their books printed by foreigners, without the permission of the aulic chancery, at Vienna. Constantine Slotwinski, an ex-officer of the French Empire, Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, Imperial Commissary of his department, Librarian to the Polish library at Leopol, a celebrated jurisconsulist, and a distinguished writer, had received a small prayer book, printed in Paris, and sent to him in secret, either by a friend or by an Austrian agent.

He had been long suspected by the police of patriotism and love of Polish nationality,

At midnight his house was surrounded by dragoons, and he was dragged from his bed. His wife, just out of her confinement, was torn from the embraces of her husband, and clinging desperately to him, was stunned by the butt end of their guns, which caused her to expire upon the spot.

Slotwinski was sentenced to twenty years hard labour *(ad carcerem durissimum)* by the imperial delegated commission of Vienna, which is composed of three faithful German agents, who alone have the authority of judgment in political offences, is now expiating his sin of potriotism in the dungeons of Spielberg, if he has not already been poisoned, as is frequently the case in Austria, if the delinquent is intelligent, and consequently obnoxious.

In all Austrian Poland, there are but five printing establishments, three at Leopol,

One at Tarnow, and one at Przemysl. This last belongs to a Pole, and only prints religious songs; the four others to Germans, to whom this privilege is almost exclusively accorded. In all Austrian Poland there is but one newspaper, in German and Polish, this last is composed of four pages in quarto, and is only allowed to print news unconnected with politics, as contained in the Austrian journal, the "Observer," edited at Vienna by the private secretary of the High Chancellor. The censors of the newspapers are at the same time the functionaries or paid agents of the Emperor.

No Austrian subject is allowed to emigrate without the permission of government, and this permission is only granted on a high ransom being paid to the Emperor—the ransom being regulated according to the rank of the party. The Austrian frontier is

guarded by foresters, provided day and night with a loaded gun, and they are authorised to shoot upon the spot any individual attempting to emigrate or even to pass the frontier, without having paid this ransom to the Emperor.

Neither tailors, shoemakers, nor carpenters, &c., are allowed to establish a workshop or to work, either publicly or privately, for others, without first obtaining the permission, and paying the tax to the Emperor. The workmen who transgress this order, are punished with the confiscation of their tools and blows with the cane. All the police soldiers, and all the provincial dragoons, are provided for this purpose with canes, which they always carry about them.

The servants of both sexes, workmen and workwomen, and in general all persons who have no tangible property, or establishment, or workshop, are liable, for any infringement

of the police regulations, to corporeal punishment, the men to blows with canes, the women to whipping on their bare backs. The Burgomasters, the police agents, those of their district, and all nobility, and their agents have the power of administering this punishment without any enquiry, or without any written decision.

The emperors never carry out their designs by straightforward means, but obtain their ends by subterfuge and cunning.

To ascertain the number of his subjects who manufacture gold and silver articles, and to be enabled to seize upon them, the emperor ordered by an edict of 1802 and 1803 what follows.

"His Majesty having heard with horror that many articles are sold pretending to be gold and silver, but which either are not so at all, or contain considerable alloy, to prevent this public imposition, his Majesty,

in his paternal solicitude for his dearl[illegible] beloved subjects, commands as follow[illegible] Firstly "All persons, churches, and com[illegible] munities, who may have in their possession[illegible] administration, or said keeping, any article[illegible] whatever, of gold, or silver, shall b[illegible] obliged, under pain of confiscation of th[illegible] articles, or of fine, or imprisonment, t[illegible] bring them, within two months, to the office[illegible] of the district, who will cause them to b[illegible] stamped with the gold and silver mark.'

Secondly. "Those to whom these articles belong shall pay to the government, by way of retribution, either in gold or in silver, but not in paper money, one kreutzer for an ounce of silver, and one kreutzer for a drachm of gold. The district agents have received strict orders to keep the registers of this operation, and to expose the article, the metal, its weight, the name of the owner, and of his dwelling, and to send the dupli-

s of them to the chamber of finance.
y one recognised in this proceeding the
rnal solicitude of the Emperor, and every
ufacturer, depositor, or proprietor of
and silver articles, hastened to have
ı stamped, and to pay this trifling
But a few months had scarcely elapsed,
ı another edict appeared, which com-
ded, under the same penalties of fine
imprisonment, to have all gold and
r articles stamped, and to pay to the
rnment twenty kreutzers an ounce for
r, and the same sum for a drachm of gold.
e persons who had no gold or silver
ies, chargeable the stamp duty, were
ıd to give up to government other

The Emperor being at once the guardian, the trustee, and the supreme administrator of the churches, ordered all their gold and silver articles to be delivered up to him, and he paid back the money in notes, of which mention will be made under the article finance.

An edict of the 30th of December, 1814, runs as follows.—

"In order to give the nobility of Gallicia proofs of our paternal affection, and to maintain her ancient prerogatives, it is herewith ordained that no citizen shall either be able to purchase, to inherit, or to acquire in any manner whatsoever, those landed estates belonging to the nobility; the nobility alone shall be entitled to purchase and to retain them. The Polish nobility, flattered in its pride by this distinguishing privilege, thanked his Majesty for this proof of paternal solicitude.

In 1818 another befehl announced that the landed estates, the towns and villages of the state would be sold by public auction and that all the inhabitants alike, Jews or Christians, Patricans or Plebeians, would have a right to purchase them—the real object of the first befehl of 1814, was to increase the number of buyers as well as to fill the coffers of the State, or in other words, of the Kaiser.

Notwithstanding this deception, the Polono Austrian nobility is sufficiently attached to the House of Habsburg, because, firstly, the Kaisers easily grant the title of Count, in consideration of the payment of a tax of 6000 florins, (about £600) and secondly because they maintain more strictly the *Robot* (or service due from peasants to their lords) of the Polish peasantry, than other absolute Monarchies.

The Polono Austrian Counts shewed frequent signs of respect towards the Kaiser Francis, particularly during his journey through Gallicia in 1817. It is well known that the Kaiser Francis, like almost all the first born of the House of Habsburg had a falling under lip, a wide mouth, the head bowed towards the chest, and hollow cheeks and eyes.

The disciples of Plato, to imitate their chief and master affected to have round shoulders, and in Ethiopia when the Sovereign had any deformity the courtiers maimed themselves to resemble him.

A few Austriaco-polish Counts not wishing to appear less civilized than the Ethiopians affected, in 1817, and subsequently a falling lip, gaping mouth, and lowered head—though their zeal and devotedness did not lead them quite so far as to make them hollow their eyes and cheeks.

There are turnpikes every two leagues on all the high roads of the Austrian empire, with the exception of those in Hungary, where two Kreutzer are paid for every head of yoked and one kreutzer for all unyoked cattle. Three drains crossing the road within the distance of a couple of leagues gives the Kaiser the right of increasing the toll one Kreutzer per head. If there is a bridge a separate tax is paid.

Turnpikes are farmed out in Gallicia, the farmers being obliged to repair the roads, by which means the Kaiser derives a net revenue from them.

This system of levying toll allows the Kaiser to adopt towards foreign countries a system of policy, apparently liberal and disinterested, by granting a free transit for foreign merchandise, more particularly towards France, where this toll even does not

exist, and where consequently the French government derives no benefit from the transit of Austrian merchandise.

The further from Vienna, the capital of Austria, the more rare does specie become, and the greater the general poverty, though it is to be found in its greatest extreme in the proximity of the frontiers. In Gallicia, only paper money, copper, and pieces of silver, of twenty krentzers (eight pence) are known. Out of ten thousand persons, hardly one has ever seen a two florin piece, (four shillings) or an Autrian ducat, but everybody knows the Russian roubles, and Dutch or Russian ducats, which the Kaiser gradually draws into his coffers, a fact which proves that the exportation to Russia and Russian Poland, is greater than the importation from those countries, and that the

an Poles are richer than the Austrian

xony, next neighbour of impoverished nia, vainly endeavours to protect itself ohibitive laws against the Bohemian rs.

Gallicia the wretchedness of the ers, Jews, and particularly of the ntry, surpasses all that can be con- l. The Polish peasants can afford even bread only during three or four months e year: they live the remainder of the on potatoes, with the exception of or four months in the Spring, when a to subsist on green meat extreme tion renders these poor wretches sallow, bodies swell, and fever carries away

mit to Vienna such declarations of which [redacted] I could not take cognisance.

Up to 1815 the Kaiser made the wa[redacted]a with France a pretext for extortion.

After that war, that is to say in 18[redacted]; direct taxation was doubled, and ev[redacted]er trebled, and the befehl which announces t[redacted]his increase contains these words, "that it is during war that wounds are received, a[redacted]nd that peace is the proper time for curing ther[redacted]."

* There is no aristocracy properly so called in Gallicia or even Austria. T[redacted]he Kaiser is absolute master, his agents o[redacted]nly the first of his slaves. They do not ev[redacted]en form a buraeucracy, because they have [redacted]no

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* The author here loses sight of Hungary, p[redacted]r-haps the only European country besides England [redacted]in which an aristocracy in any thing but name c[redacted]an still be said to exist. EDITOR.

power excepting to execute the will of their master.

The diet of Gallicia, established in 1817, is convoked every year in the month of October.

It is composed of four estatesly ; First, the Ecclesiastical ; Secondly, that of Magnates ; Thirdly, that of Szlachta ; and Fourthly, the Burgher estate. The first estate is represented by all the Archbishops, Bishops, and two Delegates from each chapter ; the second estate comprises all the Princes, Counts, and Barons; the third estate contains all the Szlachcis or ancient Polish Militia which the Kaiser had assimilated to the Germanic Knights (Ritter.) In order for a Szlachcic to appear at the diet and bear the title of Nuncio, he must be acknowledged as Knight by the Emperor, and pay to the Kaiser 75 florins (£ 6) yearly, as Seigniorial

That is to say for the right of exacting forced labour from the Polish peasantry.

The German peasants are not subjected to forced labour—they are free.

The fourth estate comprises two deputies from the capital, Leopol one of whom is always Burgomaster of Leopol, and the other a citizen of Lepol, chosen by the Burgomaster. The Burgomaster is always a thorough bred German, and a stranger not only to the town but also to Gallicia; he is besides a secret councillor of the Kaiser's (Geheimrath.)

The Diet, thus composed, meets and disperses on the day fixed upon by the Kaiser. It is expressly forbidden the Diet to interfere in all matters relative to public administration.

It is only allowed to occupy itself with the means of augmenting the productions of the country.

The right of petition is granted to it o

condition that the petition be signed by the Governor.

This parody is enacted with great mock solemnity.

The whole garrison is drawn out in line and presents arms to these *legislators*, who go in carriages to the Diet. The Catholic Archbishop, *Primas Regni*, drives in a gilt carriage, surrounded by twelve lacqueys or chasseurs, drawn by six horses and preceded by a Canon mounted on a white horse, and holding in his two hands a crucifix about nine feet high.

To increase his consequence, the Archbishop, who calls himself the most humble servant of God, thus causes his horses, coachmen, huntsmen, and lacqueys to be preceded by an effigy of his crucified Saviour, who opens the procession of his servant the Archbishop.

The Pagan Pontiffs carried with their

own hands the emblems of their divinities, but the haughty Austrian priests use the image of their Maker to lead the train of their equipages and servants.

The government rewards and marks of distinction are orders and titles.

Orders are very rare and therefore much esteemed.

The title of Baron is only granted in Poland to Jews and Néophytes.

The Germans themselves pretend that the origin and etymology of the title is judaical.

The Poles are only ambitious of and only purchase the title of Count.

All subscriptions for the sufferers by inundations or fire, whether native or foreign, entered into without the permission of the Circle of the Gubernium or of the Aulic Council, are severely forbidden, under pe-

nalty of confiscation of funds, and imprisonment of persons.

The arts and trades are united in distinct bodies (Zunft.)

Each guild or company has its master, deputy master, and assistant.

The period of apprenticeship is fixed from three to seven years, according to the trade, and after the expiration of this legal term, the apprentices obtain the certificate of their freedom and companionship.

After three or four years companionship, the companion has a right to present himself for examination, and receives a diploma as Master, on payment of the legal taxes and stamps.

To entitle a master to exercise a trade upon his own account, he must buy a licence from the Kaiser.

The sum which may be placed by an in-

dividual in the savings bank at once several times, is neither fixed nor limited

The reimbursement takes place 8, 10, 30 days after the demand.

Fireworks and the illumination of hou is forbidden without the permission government. On the aerival of the Kai Francis at Leopol, the police had orde the inhabitants to illuminate their hou for three consecutive nights The gc Kaiser having learnt this the day af the first illumination, forbade it the next two nights, observing to governor, the Baron Dauer—"It is bet for my subjects to make money by expo ing and selling abroad the tallow which th would uselessly burn."

In the whole of Gallicia there are on two or three insignificant gratuitous h

pitals for the sick; admission requires special interest and government sanction.

At Leopol it is a gubernial councillor who grants permission of admittance.

The expense of these hospitals is defrayed by the revenue derived from the tax on forced labour of the Polish peasantry.

It is needless to say that the Germans have the preference of admission. The hospital called General, only receives the sick, in consideration of payment; it is a joint-stock speculation of which the profits are shared between the town corporation and the Kaiser.

Begging is forbidden, but there is no provision made for the poor and aged.

As there is however no rule without an exception, mendicity is allowed in the Kaiser's own family. The Kaiser's wife has the privilege of asking pin-money of the

Poles. The Kaiser Francis married successively four wives. The last, a Bavarian Princess, now the widowed Queen Mother, came to Gallicia with her husband in 1822, to beg of the Poles her pin-money.

Having learnt that the Polish noblemen proposed to offer 75,000 florins (6000£) in paper money, the Kaiserinn graciously expressed her desire to have the present changed into Dutch ducats, and also impressed upon them the propriety of presenting these ducats in a gold box.

The Poles generously offered her fifteen thousand Dutch ducats enclosed in a gold box.

The Kaiser and his family are not accustomed to leave even a few florins for the poor.

There is even a German proverb which runs —"the Kaiser takes but never gives."

The Kaiserinn, on the occasion in question,

briefly thanked the Poles (hab dank, "you are thanked,) and departed.

In Hungary the Queens have a custom of demanding a present for shoes—a noble Hungarian, who did not like the Germans, in paying his quota of the present, observed to the soliciting Baron.—"Your Kaiserinn might go barefoot, it is warm weather now." It was the month of July.

The bankruptcies of the Vienna Bankers are generally believed to be mere commercial speculations.

None but foreigners, unlucky Turks, Frenchmen and Russians, lose their millions by them.

The Empire, that is to say, the Kaiser and the members of the Imperial family, place their savings advantageously with these Vienna bankers whose credit they wish

to raise, withdrawing their capital a few days before their bankruptcy.

The Austrian Germans unharness the horses belonging to the carriage of a celebrated actress and drag it themselves, but they decline attending paid concerts.

Prince Metternich understands the art of drawing to the Capital rich strangers, and of inducing them to spend large sums. He personally knows how to make a great show at little cost. He is in the habit of inviting artists, and particularly foreign artists, to play and sing in his drawing-rooms, and rewards them with six or twelve bottles of Johannisberg.

The sordid parsimony of the chief of the house of Habsburg, and of Metternich, is proverbial in Gallicia.

They do not travel to foreign countries to

avoid expense, and never display either charitable generosity or liberality in rewarding services. It is the chief aim of their policy to draw to Vienna all the treasures of the earth.

The inns and hotels are very scarce in the large towns and watering places of the Austrian Empire, frequented by strangers.

To found these establishments permission must be obtained from the Gubernium, and is only granted to a few privileged persons, who agree to pay, as tax, a certain sum to the Kaiser.

The government, on its part, undertakes not to allow any one for a certain period, to set up any rival inns or hotels; and in this manner the Kaiser, and those who divide with him this monopoly share its profits. The same process takes place with regard to

all manufactories, printing establishments, &c. &c.

Nomade Royalties, who bring with them millions, and wealthy strangers, are treated with the greatest attention and respect, and are enticed by every imaginable means.

The poor, on the contrary, are not even admitted.

The free and independent press of France protects fifty thousand unfortunate Prussian and Austrian mendicants in Paris, and reserves the shafts of its wit for wealthy travellers.

This is laudable on the score of humanity, but decidedly at variance with the interests of the country.

If we narrowly examine the internal administration of the Austrian Empire, it is not difficult to perceive that M. Ochsenhausen von Metternich governs the Austrian

States rather according to German interests than in accordance with interests of the House of Habsburg. Futurity will inform us whether it will be the dynasty of Habsburg or Brandenburg that will be driven from Germany.

It may be recollected on the occasion of the firing of a gun or pistol at the Czar Nicholas in the Prussian States at Posen in 1839 or 1840, the German writers gave out everywhere that the assassin was a Pole.* The commission appointed to investigate the matter discovered nothing; on the other hand persons, high placed in Austria and Prussia, say, underhand, that the shot was fired at Nicholas by a

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* In St, Petersburg it is commonly believed that the shot was fired from one of the carriages of the Imperial suite,

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German, a secret agent of the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin and of their policy; and with the view of rendering the Poles hateful to the Tsar, and of forcing him to abandon to them the left bank of the Vistula.

CHAPTER III.

Peasants.—National Militia Szclachta—Proprietors—Nobles—Burghers—Germans.

To enable the reader more readily to understand and appreciate the *befehls*, which actually influence the condition of the peasantry and landholders, it is necessary to lay before him the relative position in which they mutually stood before the invasion,

which the Austrians call revindication of the kingdoms of Gallicia and Ladomeria.

To make the Poles, as well as Europe, lose all traces of Poland, the Germans only give the title of Poland to the portion occupied by Russia. Whilst they were masters of the whole of ancient Poland, and of its two capitals, Cracow and Warsaw—that is to say from 1795 up to the treaty of Tilsit, concluded in 1807, they gave it the title of oriental Gallicia, and Poland was effaced from the geographical map.

* In ancient times, the only distinction

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* This historical assumption as to the origin of the Szchlacta, is rejected by the modern authorities, whose recent investigations have brought to light evidence, that the noble or military class both in Poland and Lithuania was a distinct and conquering race, or a compound of successive conquering races, like the admixture formed by the amalgamation of Saxons, Danes and Normans in the British Isles.

There appears however always to have existed a

amongst the inhabitants consisted in their different occupations.

Those who cultivated the soil were called labourers.

Those who defended it against foreign invasion were called at first Szlachcic, from the German word, Schlacht, which signifies battle. A small number of Burghers were artizans or traders.

Viscounts, Marquesses or Barons were unknown in ancient Poland, until the end of the tenth century; and even afterwards the government of Poland was of a democratical character.

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spirit rather of appropriating merit by admitting it into its ranks, than of any aristocratic exclusion in the Szchlacta, so that, after all, it may chiefly have been recruited from the aboriginal population. It is also indubitable that the servitude of the peasantry was a comparatively recent abuse.

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The Russian provinces retained it till the end of the fifteenth century.

There are neither in Poland, nor in the Russian provinces, Feudal castles, nor old names.

All the names terminating in *ski* are adjectives, taken from the names of parishes, animals, plants, or the imagination; and those names date only from the sixteenth century. The Polish names terminating in *wicz*, are derived from families, and have an earlier origin.

The throne being elective, the King could not create an hereditary nobility, and had not even the right of conferring any title.

With the exception of those of Prince and Duke (Woiéwodea) all others are of German or Russian creation, and consequently exotic and anti-Polish.

The Poles bearing these titles, who acquired them at the cost of Polish inde-

pendence, are Counts or Barons, but not Polish Barons or Counts. The Szlachta forms what is now called the second rate nobility.

It is essentially Polish, and notwithstanding its ignorance and vices it is attached to Poland and identified in interest with its destinies. It is still mindful of the original of its institution. which was the defence of its country's independence and nationality. Hence the noble pride and intrepidity of a good Polish Szlachcic.

The Kaiser sees it ; he therefore gradually transforms the Szlachcic into Austrian nobles. Counts, Vis-counts, Barons, Marquisses, and similar creations illustrative of the darkness of despotism and slavery form the court and ignoble train of the house of Hapsburg, and of other sovereigns and dynasties.

They are the liveried slaves and cham-

pions of a dynasty rather than the defenders of the country.

Such mercenaries have never hesitated and never will hesitate to fight in the ranks of a foreign soldiery against their country and in favour of a dynasty.

The Polish Szlachta only expatriates itself to fight for its country—the Counts and Marquisses expatriate themselves to fight against it.

There exists therefore a great distinction between the Polish Szlachcic nobility and the monarchial nobility of other countries. The Pole who fought for his country was its true national militia its Szlacheu. Amongst the Polish Princes, the Princes Czartoryski are distinguished by their patriotic efforts to maintain the Polish language and nationality. The president of the Polish insurrectionary government of 1830, Prince Adam

Czartoryski, surpasses all the other nobles as as the cypress tree surpasses the white briony. *Quamtum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi.*

All the Polish lands belonged to the republic. Government had no right to alienate a single inch of its territory, and could only bestow its usufruct.

The lands of each parish were divided into three classes.

First the lands of the court termed *dworskie.* Second : The free lands whose revenue belonged to the national militia. (Szlachta) as a reward for its military service in time of war ; and Thirdly : The taxed lands.

The peasantry settled on these lands were obliged, instean of pecuniary taxes, to cultivate, gratis, the lands of the court. Burghers occupying these lands being obliged to pay their taxes in money.

What the Szlachcic were in Northern Poland the Cossaks were in Southern. It was these same Cossacs, called Scythians, who resisted the invasions of Cyrus, Darius, and Alexander the Great; and who gained the famous battle against the Amazons, of which Herodotus speaks in his History, book iv. c. 110—116.

Much has been said of the Cossaks though they have been little understood. Up to the period when the civil, political, and religious tyranny of the Polish Szlachcic, inspired by the Jesuits, forced the Cossack nobles to detach themselves from Poland and seek the protection of Russia, they had quite a democratical organisation.

Even now they enjoy perfect equality amongst themselves. They are virtuous and hospitable, free of all taxes, but obliged to furnish to the Russian government an equipped and mounted horseman.

By degrees the Polish militia (Szlachta) seized the government, disposed of royalty, which it sold, like the Roman Prætorian bands, and degenerated into tyrants towards their labouring brethren.

The Polish government had not a right to alienate the landed property, but it could grant to the citizens, for life, the national revenue, wholly or in part, of one or more parishes.

The government made extensive use of this privilege to recompense its partizans and favorites; and those who enjoyed the usufruct for life found means, more particularly at the election of kings, during an interregnum, of transmitting this usufruct to their successors, and even to become hereditary proprietors and lords of parishes.

As all those who enjoyed the usufruct were, at the same time, military men, and

legislators, they illtreated, oppressed with imposts, and abused at pleasure, by the right of the strongest, the labourers who had no share in the government.

The duty of cultivating the national domains (dvorskie) instead of the taxes and military service, was changed into segniorial forced labour. Everything was precarious, and nothing was regulated in this government of the sword.

There is no Polish law which reduces the Polish labourer to a state of slavery; they were only illtreated by cruel lords because they were weak, unarmed; and they were weak because they lived despised in the country.

When their lords were killed in battle, or died without posterity, the labourers were free and happy, and even enjoyed for a period the revenue of the lords.

History tells us that the Austrians seized upon the most fertile part of Poland without striking a blow, and under the mask of friendship.

The Poles, under the command of their king Sobieski, only went to Austria to deliver it from Turkish slavery; in offering this assistance the Poles were only actuated by a humane and religious commiseration for the misfortunes of the Germans.

The chivalrous Poles did not even ask reimbursement of the expenses of their expedition.

In return, the Germans came into Poland to root out all vestiges of liberty and prosperity, to render the Polish lords labourers, and the Polish Burghers slaves.

If the policy by which Austria gained possession of Poland was jesuitical, that which it employed to maintain itself there

might be termed diabolical. Firstly to demoralise, corrupt, and seduce the all-powerful Szlachta, which had delivered up Poland without striking a blow; the Kaiserinn Maria Theresa assimilated it to the petty German nobility, and granted to these Polish prætorians and their legitimate descendents the hereditary title of knight, (Ritter) with the prospect of becoming an Austrian Count on payment of a tax of 600£.

This concession turned the heads of the Polish republicans who did not expect so much generosity from the Germans, and who looked, and still look upon the title of Count, as the height of honor and human felicity. Maria Theresa then exempted the Szlachcic from military service, not in order to spare them, bnt because she feared their turbulent spirit and love of independence.

Austria besides maintained the *statu quo* of landed property without enquiring too much into the title.* She maintained forced labour, but at the same time obliged the labourers to do military service, and to pay direct and indirect taxes, from which they had been exempted at the time of the Polish republic.

The Austrian yoke, therefore, fell most heavily on the peasants and burghers.

The substance of the *befehl* of 1786, which regulates, until the present day, the mutual intercourse of landlords and peasants is as follows.

Firstly, the peasants must work gratis

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* The last act of the last Diet which ever sat for the whole of independent Poland, had struck at the root of the abuse of forced labour, as well as many others by the article of the famous constitution which it proclaimed on the third of May 1791,

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for their lord. This forced labour, called *robot*, is stipulated at three days at most, per week. If the peasant possess a plough, a waggon, and a team, he must furnish a waggon, team, and two men, exclusive of the three days weekly labour. The peasants who have neither cottages nor land, and who living on the lands merely as tenants, work only twelve days a year.

The befehl fixes the duration of this labour from sunrise to sunset.

Those subject to forced labour work therefore, in summer more than seventeen hours a day, They are only allowed one hour's rest, and as they must present themselves every evening to the agent, called *econome*, to obtain his counter-mark, and rise long before dawn, particularly when the seignorial lands are far from their cottages

they cannot in such cases obtain more than three or four hours rest at the utmost.

Every year the Polish proprietors in a body present a petition to the Kaiser, praying him to concede four days a week forced labour during harvest time.

The Kaiser always grants the fourth day, and he makes them pay for this concession six kreutzes (five pence) per team with the labourers.

The Kaiser is thus interested in the maintenance of ordinary and extraordinary forced labour, because he divides the profit with the lords, or rather he absorbs it altogether.

The lords are only imperial jailers, and only possess the right of striking with impunity the Polish labourers.

They are obliged to pay, firstly, to the Kaiser under the head of Seignisrial tax, as

much as eighty per cent. of produce of the forced labour; and secondly, to maintain at their own expense two functionories, a justiciary, and mandatarius, whom without forced labour the Kaiser would be obliged to pay out of the state revenue. Secondly, the lords who beat or ill-treat their peasants pay to the Kaiser a fine of ten-pence for each blow given. This fine is itself a sort of tax.

To take away from the lords the desire of illtreating their peasants it was proposed to the Kaiser to grant the peasantry permission to defend themselves, or to raise the fine to ten florins per blow: "But then the lords will not ill-treat their peasants at all, and my treasury will gain nothing," answered the good Kaiser. Besides the concession to the proprietors of the right of striking their peasantry on the payment of ten-pence per

blow, has the appearance of a prohibition, but a jesuitical one, very likely to foment hatred between the peasant and his lord, and to keep the labourers, who still preserve—and indeed chiefly constitute Polish nationality—in a state of degradation. The cruelty of the Polish lords to their peasantry surpasses all that can be imagined.

The Polish Kanczuk is more cruel than the Russian knout or German stock. The lords and their agents tear out their ears, put out their eyes, shave their heads with reaping hooks, break their ribs, their arms, their teeth, and illtreat them with blows of the fist, stock and kanczuk. The Polish noblemen, Andrew Nowakowski, John Szeptycki and others surpassed in cruelty the most savage brigands.

It must however be admitted, that for some time past a reconciliation is beginning

to take place between the lords and peasantry; humanity is beginning to dawn even in Austrian Poland.*

Thirdly, the Polish peasantry pay to the Kaiser a direct tax on the lands which they possess and cultivate for their own account. Without taking into account the forced labour and tithe they pay already, they are in the distribution of taxation looked upon and rated as free proprietors.

Relatively to the robot, it is however the lords who are considered as proprietors of these same lands, the peasants only as serfs. In 1820 or 1821 the gubernium asked of the Aulic Chancellery, to whom belonged the proprietorship of the lands possessed by

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* This is evidently what the Austrian cabinet dreaded.

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the peasants? The Kaiser only gave an evasive answer, and this was to be expected, because if it had been decided that the proprietorship of these lands belonged to the peasants, their forced labour must have been abolished, and the Kaiser would have lost more than three millions of florins of seignorial direct and indirect taxes. If the proprietorship had on the other hand been adjudged to the lords, the peasants could only in justice be forced to pay the direct land tax which they now pay, and the Kaisers would, equally, have lost the seignorial tax of three millions a year. This iniquitous impost does not exist either in Russian or Prussian Poland.

The lords have not a right to disposess or drive away the peasants unless they neglect the service of forced labour or cannot work.

The peasants have not a right to abandon at will their cottages or lands, but are obliged to present, and get the lord to accept, another substitute capable of performing the forced labour.

The Polish peasants in Austria are therefore serfs attached to the Glebe.

They are not so in Russian or Prussian Poland.*

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* Here, as usual, when speaking of Russian or Prussian Poland, the author falls into error. In nearly half of Poland, inhabited by eight millions of people and incorporated with Russia proper, serfdom cannot be said to exist, because the Russians have introduced actual slavery. In the Russian kingdom of Poland, serfdom was abolished by Napoleon. Nicholas has gradually re-introduced it. In Prussian Poland (Grand Duchy of Posen) the peasantry are free as Napoleon made them, but in the adjacent Prussian Sclavonic province of Silesia the peasantry are still serfs, and have revolted on several points during the present year.

EDITOR.

Every estate which possesses forced labour, constitutes an indivisible and perpetual entail in favour of the eldest son. The father has not a right to divide an estate subject to forced labour amongst his children, but is obliged by the befehl to leave it entire and without any diminution to his eldest son, and having no son, to his daughter.

When the actual possessor wishes to cede his estate to another qualified person he can only transfer it intact and undivided. This befehl originates in a view of preventing the increase of the Polish population, of hindering increase of consumption unfavorable to the imperial system of extortion, and at the same time of facilitating payment of the taxes. The peasants owe to their lords unlimited obedience.

They must execute the most unjust and iniquitous commands, and it is only after

having executed them that they are allowed to bring their complaints before them, and to await their decision.

Without this previous decision of his lord, the peasant has not a right to make any complaint to the authorities of the Circle or gubernium.

This law accustoms the lords to slavishness towards the Kaiser and his agents. The lords argue thus: "Our peasantry owe us a blind obedience; we therefore owe the same to the Kaiser, who is our lord." The Polish noblemen imitate their sovereigns, they call the peasants their subjects—their house, which very often is only a cottage, court (dvor); and the title of your majesty (Jego Mosc) is given to all noblemen, burghers, priests and szlachcic in Poland.

Formerly all szlachcic were eligible to the office of King of Poland.

The republican militia has therefore taken the title of Majesty by anticipation.

The peasants who offer the least resistance to the arbitrary commands of their lords are guilty of rebellion and cannot hope for either justice or pity. The peasants of Podkamien, in the circle of Zloczow, refused to work a greater number of days than was ordered by the befehl.

Their lord, Mr. Cetner, an Austrian Count, caused Mr. Charles Sacher, Commissary of the Circle, to be sent for, who presented himself with a squadron of dragoons.

Mr. Sacher called before him the deputies, who are always the elders of the village, and advised them to obey their lord without comment, and to execute his orders without delay. The peasants remarked that the demands of their lord were unjust and contrary to the befehl of his Majesty. "You have a

right to complain to your lord," rejoined the Commissary.

"We have complained for the last thirty years," answered the peasant deputies, "we pray to be allowed to quit our village with our families, and be allowed to seek another master."

The Commissary thereupon ordered the deputies to be stretched one after the other on the ground, and beat with the stock by two corporals.

Notwithstanding the advanced age of the deputies, the youngest of whom was seventy years of age, they suffered patiently and with resignation the first six rounds apiece.

During the execution, the peasants, book in hand, chaunted litanies.

The second round of twenty strokes each, by two corporals, they could no longer endure, but declared themselves guilty, and

submitted to the arbitrary will of their lord. The observation was made to them in cruel jest, " You see that you must not in future trust to your Saints, Saintesses, and Virgin Mothers."

This instance is one out of a hundred thousand which I could have cited, because one I happen to remember as having taken place beneath my own eyes.

It is strictly forbidden the lords to free their peasants in a body from forced labour.

I say the Polish peasantry, to distinguish them from the German peasants, who are not subject to forced labour or to military conscription.

It is however allowed to enfranchise any individual peasant, but then the permission must be obtained of the authorities of the Circle of the Gubernium, and of the tribunal

of justice. Enormous taxes must be paid on stamps, and the travelling expenses of Commissaries, etc., etc., defrayed. So that since the revindication of Poland * by the Austrians in 1772 up to the present day a single instance of enfranchisement has perhaps not occurred.

The towns, burghs and villages which at the period of the Austrian Invasion were free, that is to say had no lords, fell a prey to the Kaiser, who declared them to be part of his property and domains.

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* So termed because Austria like the other spoliating powers in seizing portions of the Polish territory, which it appropriated, set forth claims to it, more preposterous, than if the Roman Pontiff, or the King of Saxony were to claim the British Isles, because formerly in the possession of the Roman Emperor, or the Saxon Heptarchy.

EDITOR.

The Kaiser sold by degrees to private persons these towns, burghs, and villages, includiug the lands and inhabitants.

In 1826 or 1827 an extraordinary instance occurred.

For the first time since the establishment of the Austrian government in Poland, an entire village, the name of which I do not recollect, being put up to auction by the Kaiser, offered him the price at which it was valued, and requested permission to purchase itself. Prince Lobkowicz, Governor of Gallicia, submitted this extraordinary case to the decision of the Kaiser Francis, who answered, that it was impossible to grant any parish the right of purchasing itself. The village was therefore put up to auction like many others, and sold to a private individual, who became its proprietor.

The Polish nobles, Vincent Zabolicki,

Leon Zalewski, and others, who in 1834 and 1835 emancipated of their own accord the peasantry, their countrymen and serfs, were arrested and condemned *ad carcerem durissimum*, as guilty of rebellion.

They now expiate this misdemeanor in the Fortress of Spielberg.

The Russian government since 1808 has ordered the emancipation of the slaves and invited the lords to endow them with landed property, but found opposition on the part of the Russian Polish and German proprietors.*

* The only emancipation of slaves which the Russian government has ever sanctioned has been their transference from the bondage of individuals to the Imperial domain, which comprises one-and-twenty millions of slaves, the emperor's private property.

EDITOR.

Besides the forced labour of 150 days a year to the Kaiser's advantage, and besides the tithes to the Roman Catholic priests, the peasants are obliged to work gratis five days a year, to repair and make the roads called Kaiser Strasse, the revenue of which goes to the Kaiser. This forced labour is called Scharwerk. During the months of April, May, June, and July, nearly all the Polish peasantry without exception live upon roots and herbs—it is only those amongst the peasantry who are termed rich who can afford to eat bread made of buck-wheat, oatmeal, barley, and sometimes rye. The poorer people live upon potatoes without any grease.

Gallicia exports annually more than two millions of Hectolitres of wheat, but does not know anything of wheaten bread. The proprietors themselves, without exception,

eat rye bread. The cakes and small wheaten rolls which are made in the more considerable towns, are highly taxed, looked upon as articles of luxury, and as such not submitted to the tariff regulations as to price. On the other hand, the surplus of exports over imports, which constitutes a clear revenue to the Kaiser, is facilitated and allowed even during a period of famine. Scarcity is thus the normal state of Gallicia.

The habitations of the Polish peasantry who are under the Paternal Austrian government since 1772, are cottages thatched with straw, sometimes constructed with a few deals, or trunks of trees placed one on the other and bound at the corners with osiers; at other times they are made of wattles plastered inside and out with mud. Light is admitted into their cottages through a hole furnished with green glass from three to six inches in diameter.

Generally speaking there are no chimneys, but in the centre of the room there is an oven or hearth, on which the fire is lit to warm the room in winter, and to cook the family victuals all the year round.

The smoke escapes through the interstices of the door.

The locks of the cottage, barn, and of all other rustic buildings are of wood; iron is very dear, and is only sold by confidential Germans.

Permission to sell iron goods, or establish a magazine or shop for the sale of tools or any iron instruments, must be asked from the Aulic Chancery at Vienna, and as a precautionary measure these establishments are only allowed in the chief places of the circles and towns where there is always a garrison and well organized police. In winter, the swine, calves, fowls, and men, live

together, and sleep on the ground promiscuously.

The peasantry, and in general all servants, even those of noblemen, and all workmen, have neither beds, coverings, nor pillows.

They cover themselves at night with the clothes which they wear in the day time, a little straw serves them as a mattress.

Austrian Poland does not want either wool, cloth, or leather; but the paternal government forces the inhabitants to work for exportation, and not for their own necessities or benefit. The costume of a Polish peasant consists in summer of a shirt and trowsers of coarse canvass, completed by a peculiar hat of wheaten or rye straw. In winter, the peasants wear above the shirt a brown woollen, felt, seamless wrapper, a sheepskin cap, and thin, cow-hide boots. The wealthiest array themselves in sheepskins in

this season. The kitchen utensils consist of two or three pots in baked clay, one or two earthen pans, a tripod, and a few spoons in common wood.

This is the state of three millions, five hundred thousand Austrian Polish peasants, who are without question—more unfortunate than the Prussian or Russian peasants, more miserable than the negroes brought up or sold in Africa. Yet there exists in Paris an association of generous Frenchmen for the emancipation of the negroes, but none for the emancipation of the Polish peasantry, white slaves of the paternal Austrian Government. These white Polish slaves who exist only on roots and herbs give to the Kaiser a clear revenue of from seven to ten millions of florins a year.

I call a clear revenue what remains to

the Kaiser after deducting all expenses for the administration of Gallicia.

The Austriaco-Polish Diet of 1844, on the motion of Alfred Potocki, Polish Duke, (Waivode) and Austrian Count, addressed a petition to the Kaiser, requesting to be allowed to enfranchise the Polish peasantry from forced labour and to grant them a property in the lands which they had cultivated for centuries. This was called a *coup d'etat*, a rebellion! Before the revolution of 1830, Potoski would have expiated his humane sentiments in the dungeons of Spielberg.*

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* This indicates at least a diminution of the evil of despotism. In Russia on the contrary, an individual would be sent to Siberia in 1846 for the expression of opinions which would only have drawn down a reprimand in 1830.

EDITOR.

Since that period, however, the German has been obliged to dissimulate his anger, on account of the danger threatening his despotism and throne. The immediate result of the abolition of forced labour would, however, have been to cause a diminution of two and a half millions of florins net revenue which the Kaiser levies on the lords as seignorial tax, and also have had the effect of uniting the peasantry and landholders, who, at present, hate each other. The financial interest, and Machiavelian policy of *divide et impera* are opposed to the abolition of forced labour.

The Kaiser knows the force of public opinion, and endeavours to give every act of his government a varnish of justice.

He therefore, to color his refusal, instituted a commission to enquire into the means of indemnifying the Kaiser for the loss of

2,500,000 florins a year, his share of forced labour, and also the lords for the loss of 2,500,000 or 3,000,000 florins yearly, and the Catholic priests for about 1,000,000 worth of tithes which they would forfeit by this emancipation of the peasantry from the robot. The easiest solution of these questions on the Kaiser's part, would be to exact from Poland under the name of taxes or imposts merely the sums necessary to net a revenue to the Kaiser of from 7,500,000 to 10,000,000 florins, and to indemnify the Polish proprietors by means of the sums which arise from the sale of national property, which amount to more than 4 millions sterling, accumulated in the Imperial coffers under the denomination of savings.

The Diet dare not say to its Kaiser that he plunders from seven to ten millions florins a year, and any other plan must re-

main without result because the peasantry and their lords are exhausted and indebted.

The Germans in Austrian, Russian, and Prussian Poland may be divided into three classes. Firstly, the German who only come to drain, to spy upon, or enslave it, in the form of traders, lacqueys, and civil, military, or spiritual agents of the government. It is this refuse of the German population and of its penniless and vagabond nobility which is known in Polond and Russia under the name of "*German Vermin.*"

The Czar Nicholas himself gives them this title.

Nothing can be more servile, abject, and devoid of all dignity and humanity than a German in Poland and Russia in the service of the Czar or Kaiser. Unfortunately all the children of a German Baron or Count, are born Barons or Counts.

Poland and Russia are infested with these ignoble pests. Secondly, the Germans who are engaged in arts or trades either as masters or workmen.

These as a class are useful and honest.

The greater number of them become eventually Polish in feeling and even patriotically Polish. The Germans and Jews who become proprietors in the towns and villages are, in general, milder and more humane towards their Polish peasantry than the proprietors of Polish birth and origin. To the third class belong the German peasants vulgarly called colonists. These colonies in Austrian Poland form strategic points, and are situated more particularly towards the Russian frontier. These establishments have German names even in the heart of Poland. All the colonists without exception are of

the Evangelical persuasion, and each has its pastor and German school.

To induce the German peasants to establish themselves in Gallicia the Government gives them gratis a waggon, two horses, agricultural implements, a wooden house, a barn, and thirty or forty *morgen* of land.

The colonists are exempt from all taxes for twenty years, they and their descendents are free of the conscription that is to say military service.

These colonists are generally speaking in easy circumstances. They do not connect themselves at all with the Polish Catholic peasantry who are subject to forced labour and whom they despise.

The Catholic religion is thus apparently dominant; all external and political honours are rendered to it, but in reality it is the Evangelical faith, and the Austrian

subjects belonging to it, who enjoy all moral and material advantages and emoluments. Protestantism is in fact identified with German nationality.

Mr. Ochsenhauson von Metternich and the Habsburgh Kaiser cannot act otherwise.

To comfort the Catholics under this inferiority the Evangelical Germans say to them ironically, "You Catholics are burdened here below with tithes, forced labour, taxes, military service, etc., etc. From these we Protestants are exempted, but be of good cheer, after death, you will be for ever exempted from these charges, and we shall be oppressed and burdened with them through eternity! What are the miseries of this terrestrial life compared to the celestial joys of eternity?"

CHAPTER IV.

JEWS.

The establishment of the Jews in Poland dates from the fourteenth century. The persecutions they endured in Germany, and the privileges accorded to them by the government of Poland, naturally drew them towards this latter country ; and thus it is, that the Jews speak no other than the German language more or less corrupt, and,

that all, like the Germans, occupy themselves in commerce or trade. They exercise in preference the profession of general dealers, tailors, jewellers, goldsmiths, money-changers, brokers, sellers of spirituous liquors, horse jobbers, watchmakers, and usurers, but it is rare to meet amongst them with either shoemakers, masons, blacksmiths, locksmiths, or labourers. Their number amounts in Gallicia to 340,000 souls. The men universally read and write Hebrew. They are all active, laborious, religious, and intelligent, and notwithstanding this political and religious slavery, notwithstanding the poverty they suffer, a degree of which no idea can be formed in any other part of Europe, still they retain sentiments of humanity and liberty. I never in my life saw an Austrian German, either catholic or Protestant, give alms or any other succour to

a poor Pole, whilst on the contrary I have often seen the Jews assist, lodge, and entertain unfortunate Poles. Their love of liberty is so great, that they prefer dying of hunger to cultivating the land, and becoming subject to the blows of the Polish Signors (Kanczuck,) and to the degrading toil which deadens all human feeling, and brutalizes the masters even more than it does the peasants. But the extreme want under which they languish renders them knavish, and easily corrupted by the oppressive government, and therefore they in common with all the other Austrian Germans in Gallicia serve as spies.

They are forbidden to possess or farm mills, ponds, breweries, or distilleries, or to sell spirituous liquors with the exception of wine.

They are only allowed to live in the

country as labourers and they have quarters assigned to them in the town. The town of Brody, situated at about one hundred yards from the Russian frontier, is the only European town, the whole of whose inhabitants are Jews, the Austrian functionaries being only Christians. It is the most commercial town in Gallicia—and it possesses the right of importing free, all merchandise and indigenous or foreign produce, and importing them into Russia either by legal means or otherwise.

Relatively to Austria, it is looked upon as a foreign town and surrounded by custom-houses and offices of the customs. The Jews are subject to military service, but, like all other subjects, are allowed to redeem this obligation on paying to the Kaiser 300 florins, (about £30). It is forbidden the Jews to have Christians in their service

They cannot marry without the permission of the Circles, who only give the permission to Jewish men and women, who, after having been examined by the Captain and Secretary of the Circle, can obtain certification of being able to read, write, and reckon in German. Marriages contracted without this permission are looked upon as illegal.

The extreme poverty of the greater part of the Israelites neither allows them to learn to write or read in German, to purchase the permission, nor to pay the stamps and taxes.

Out of one hundred marriages, ninety-nine are illegal.

The Austrian government nevertheless proceeds with a degree of cruelty unheard of in Europe against these hapless wretches married without the sanction of the Circle.

It orders administration of blows of the stock (cane) to the men, and the women to be flogged with rods.

They are then separated, and each are sent back to the place of his or her birth.

The children of these marriages are considered as illegitimate, and being abandoned die of hunger and misery.

The Jews, who, contrary to the *befehl* of the Kaiser, are found in the country as proprietors or farmers of inns, mills, or ponds, are condemned by the Circle to a considerable pecuniary fine, and to blows of the stock.

The Mosaic worship is tolerated, and the government grants to the Israelites, on payment of a tax, permission to build synagogues; but the Catholics are forbidden under pain of death to embrace the Jewish persuasion.

The Jewish priesthood are all equal amongst themselves; and their form of worship, being divested of the hierarchical character distinguishing the Catholic clergy, is less favorable to the exigences of absolutism than the Roman faith. The Hebrew clergy is paid by the Jewish parishes. The Mosaic religion only acknowledges one God and Moses as his prophet; it admits eternal life, but does not recommend love to one's neighbour of a different persuasion. It does not acknowledge male or female saints.

This religion, which is the basis and source of the Christian faith, whose founder was the countryman of Christ, and which, notwithstanding the persecutions it has endured from heterodox monarchs and nations, has maintained itself through four thousand years, deserves in this enquiring age the scrutiny and attention of philosophers and statesmen.

The clergy is not a body which does not blindly obey a chief, but reasons and does not abandon its individuality in favour of a sect, is less dangerous for a free government and individual liberty.

Those religions or forms of worship which are divested of intellectual or moral strength, endeavour to crush or terrify reason by the array and compactness of their submissive and degraded priesthood. It is allowed the Jews of the other Austrian provinces to transfer their domicile to Gallicia, but on the other hand permission is only granted those Polish Jews to establish themselves at Vienna or in the German provinces, who can prove themselves in possession of ten thousand florins, ready money.

Besides the taxes and imposts of all descriptions which the Jews pay in common with other Austrian subjects, they are sub-

ject besides as Jews for the toleration of their religion to the imposition of a million of florins a year, (without reckoning the expences of levying, which amount to more than half a million). This tax is raised on meat of all kinds, and on the candles which the Jews burn on their sabbath.

It is known in Gallicia, under the title of *Koskerfleich aufschlag, und Lickterzund-ungs-aufschlag.*

The re-partition and levying of this tax takes place in the following manner:—The Gubernium allots every year the sum required by the Kaiser to the 19 Circles, and the quota of each Circle is farmed by auction to the highest bidder.

The Circle and farmer then make a re-partition of the quota part on the Jewish parishes of the Circles.

The Burgomaster, farmers, or sub-farmers allot to individuals, and then they proceed to the levying. If, after the first re-partition and exaction, persons are found who cannot pay all or part of this ransom money, a fresh re-partition is made of the portion of the insolvable on those who are solvent. A third, fourth, and even tenth re-partition thus extends to the wealthiest individuals, until the sum demanded by the Kaiser is raised, as well as the expense of levying is defrayed.

When the assessed individuals do not pay exactly to the time the farmer submits a list of the defaulters to the Circle and asks assistance.

The Circle then sends soldiers whom the defaulters are obliged to lodge, feed, and pay.

This is called a military execution.

A fortnight after, the Circle sends a com-

missiary who presents himself at the habitation of each defaulter—carries off all that he finds upon the premises and sells the effects by auction. The parish then pays the commissary four florins a day and the expences of the journey, for which he is allowed a private carriage and four horses, which are rated at about a florin and a half per league.

When an entire parish becomes insolvent the deficiency is laid to the charge of a richer parish; "let justice be done," say the Germans, "though the world perish," for the Kaiser cannot be the loser. On the day of these exactions nothing is heard but lamentations—men women and children nearly naked in the midst of winter, with twenty or twenty five degrees of cold, are to be seen running after the commissary carrying away the distrained goods. In vain do these miserable

victims of Austrian rapacity, deprived of their linen and most necessary portions of clothing, implore on their knees pity from the unfeeling German. " My Kaiser cannot loose," he repeats at every moment.

Let it not be imagined, that the commissaries seize mere articles of luxury. The Austriaco Polish Jew is a stranger to these.

The commissary opens the cupboards, chests and trunks ; searches the rooms and seizes counterpanes, pillows, sheets, bedding saucepans, chairs, benches, etc., etc., selling for half a florin what is worth five or ten.

A quarter of a pound of bread and one or two onions, with a little salt, constitute the daily food of nineteen out of twenty of the Austriaco Polish Jews.

In Russian Poland there are Jewish capi-

talists, and the Jews in general are at their ease.

In Austrian Poland, on the contrary, there is not a Jew to be found who can dispose of four thousand pounds, and yet the Franckfort Jews, and the Messrs. Rothschild themselves intercede with the Autocrat of Russia in favour of their co-religionaries, who are oppressed in Russian Poland, and abandon those oppressed by the German Autocrat in Austrian Poland. The Kaiser Joseph II ordered the Israelites to shave their beards, and wear the Polish dress of the Austrian Christians. He allowed a period of three years to effect this metamorphosis.

It did not however take place; firstly because the Israelites bought back from the government the liberty to wear a dress for which they had such a predilection, also be-

cause the government perceived that this change would confound the Israelites with the Germans, both speaking the German language, having the same habits, the same commercial occupations, and differing from each other only by these outward signs.

The Austrian government has powerful reasons for not confounding these homogeneous classes, and for not keeping before the eyes of the Poles this outward distinction.

The Israelites are precluded from exercising Public functions.

CHAPTER V.

Public Instruction.

Man does not come into the world by his own free will, neither voluntarily as a Pole, Christian, or Musulman.

He becomes these by the will and compulsion of others, by education, instruction, law or befehl.

An individual who is now a good priest or

Austrian agent and thanks heaven for it, might have been a good mufti or mandarin, and would thank heaven equally if he had been born in China or in Turkey. No government knows better than the Austrian the art of denationalising and reducing to servitude a people by the force of the stock and through the intermedium of instruction.

The Austrian schools are divided into three branches. Firstly, the German schools, subdivided into Trivial and Normal. Secondly, Classical schools called Gymnasiums. And thirdly, Universities.

The German schools called Trivial are found established in nearly all the Gallician towns, and are gratuitous. The scholars pay nothing.

Formerly the parents were forced, under a heavy pecuniary penalty to send their sons to the German schools; but for some time

virtues, to obey the most sublime Kaiser, past the government is less strict.

The course of instruction at the German Trivial schools lasts four years.

In the German Normal schools, which are only established in the principal towns, geography and lineary drawing is taught.

In 1844 the government promised that the teaching Polish grammar should be introduced.

The professors of all three branches belong to the laity, excepting the professor of catechism, who is always the parish priest or his vicar.

They are appointed and paid by the government at the rate of 100, 200, and 300 florins a year. All priests and professors of public instruction are obliged to teach from their pulpits, confessionals or chairs, that it is the holiest duty, the Catholic of Catholic

his befehls and agents, and to denounce either to the priests, professors or magistrates, all evil-disposed persons, their projects and illegal proceedings, and finally to be discreet.

Instruction keeps pace with the befehl of the Kaiser Francis, which says—"*I do not want prating functionaries but executors of my befehls—submissive, obedient, and silent with regard to public affairs.*"

There is no European government which brings up spiritual and temporal functionaries and spies so obedient, so prompt at denunciation, so taciturn as the Austrian government.

Austrian subjects are forbidden to educate their children out of the country. To be able to send their children to Cracow, they must pay the Kaiser a fine of two hundred ducats a year for each child.

The course followed at the gymnasium lasts six years.

Latin, Greek, German, Arithmetic, the elements of geometry, a little Algebra, geography, the history of Austria, and religion are taught there. In Austria, eleven gymnasiums exist, two of which are at Leopol.

All the pupils are day scholars.

The superior of the gymnasium bears the title of *Prefect*, and enjoys a pension of 800 florins a year ; the professors of the gymnasium are paid at the rate of 400 or 500 florins a year.

The scholars contribute, unless they produce a certificate of poverty, signed by the Burgomaster and curate, in which case they are exempted.

All classical books belonging to the German schools and the gymnasiums are printed

at Vienna, in the Kaiser's office, for printing of which he enjoys the exclusive monopoly.

The course of philosophy is separate from the gymnasium, and takes two years.

The first year, Psychology, Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, Universal History, Religion, and the Greek Language are taught. The second year, Natural Philosophy, Mechanics, Experimental Chemistry, Universal History, and Religion. Sometimes when the government is not in want of functionaries, and that the number of students is too great, they add to Philosophy a third year, during which they teach Metaphysics, Literature, and Religion.

No one is admitted to the gymnasium without a certificate of success at the German school, or to philosophy without a certificate of success at the gymnasium. Excepting History and Mathematics, which are

taught in the German language, all the other branches are taught in Latin; up to 1830 mathematics were also taught in Latin. The professor of psychology and logic, called professor of philosophy, in treating of God and of the soul, makes an exposition of the reasons for and against; but he has an express order always to conclude with the assurance that the soul is immortal, that God governs the universe and men in particular, that he recompenses the good, and punishes the wicked after death. Amongst other reasons, the professor dwells upon the following—that without the hope of reward after death, the unfortunates and peasants would not submit to forced labour and suffer misery, that they would revolt to be able to enjoy here below the fruits of their labour. On the other hand, the professor of philosophy announces, and often repeats, that

the pupil who would reveal to others an opinion contrary to the conclusions at which he, the professor, had legally arrived, would be brought before the police and declared incapable of filling public functions, or of acting in any public capacity. This mode of treating philosophy by exposing the arguments, *pro* and *con*, is good, because it exercises the judgment of the auditors, who weigh the motives for and against, and leaves to the conscience of the pupil, a free and duly balanced option.

The professor of philosophy ought not to teach like a priest any specified religion, but ought to furnish the pupils the means of forming an independent opinion.

The most indolent and sluggish minds adopt the legal opinion of the professor without examination. The more intelligent and active, examine and form an indepen-

dent opinion, which, according to the befehl, they keep to themselves; but the prohibition of revealing an opinion contrary to the legal conclusion, has the inconvenience of making hypocritically prudent, or imprudently incredulous, professors and pupils, because the prohibition seems to confirm the idea that the opinion which is contrary to the legal conclusion is conformable to reason and truth, and that the conclusion commanded by the government is only in conformity with its policy.

The philosophical conferences in full class were permitted up to 1810, but since that period they have been forbidden for the following reason—

A student of philosophy aspiring to holy orders, maintained the existence of Providence, and the immortality of the soul. His opponent, Casimer Z., maintained the contrary, with such logical power and

sophistry that the greater part of his young auditory composed of more than 250 pupils applauded and embraced his opinions.

The government, which obtained cognizance of this, forbade all subsequent conferences, and delegated M. Lawrowski, a learned canon, to bring back to the right path the thoughtless youth, and to signify to him that he would be expelled the school and brought before the police, if he did not retract. To show how far youth may be led by its inconsiderate rashness, I will here attempt briefly to recapitulate his argument, of which my readers will duly appreciate the value.

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* The substance of this argument is omitted as it is unfitted for the taste of the British public.

EDITOR.

To be admitted to these courses it is necessary to have gone through a course of philosophy, and be provided with a certificate of success.

The first year is taught natural law, the laws of man, the penal code, and the statistics of European states.

The second year, Roman law.

The first and second quarter, ecclesiastical or canonical law.

The professor of ecclesiastical law is always a layman, and at his lectures not only do the students of law of the second year attend, but also the students of the second year of Theology.

The canonical or ecclasiastical law is exposed after Rechtberger or Doliver's *Jus Ecclesiasticum*. These teach that the church cannot form a state within a state, that the clergy owes an absolute obedience to the

Kaiser, that the Bishop of Rome, called Pope, has no supremacy over the other bishops, and that all bishops are equal, that the deference and priority accorded to the Bishop of Rome arises only from custom, and that it is severely prohibited to correspond directly with the Pope of Rome, or to receive an answer from him without a *Placitum Regium.*

The Polish villages are without any kind of school.

In 1817 the Austrian government invited the noblemen to establish in each village a trivial school, to raise funds for that object and to advise the government of their having complied with its wishes.

Three years after came another befehl, ordering that the funds collected should be secured and deposited in the treasury of the Circles. As soon as this deposit was effected

there came another secret befehl to prevent the establishment of rural schools and to retain the collected funds in payment, of the taxes that were in arrear, and as in Gallicia there is not a village without arrears, (because the tax absorbs more than three fourths of the net revenue,) all the fund collected devolved to government.

The greater part of the Polish and German, proprietors rejoiced, because they pretended that the Polish peasantry after having learned to write and read would not submit to forced labour.

It is forbidden the lay professors and priests to discuss the transubstantiation, that is to say, the authority and power of the priests to transform bread and wine into a living God, the Bulls *in Cœna Domini, on original sin, on the necessity and efficacy of auricular confession—on the immaculate con-*

ception of the Holy Virgin, &c. &c. The professor of Ecclesiastical Law, after having read the befehl of the Kaiser, Joseph, adds with Austrian gravity, "that these things are too clear and true to require discussion."

The third year of the course the Civil Code is exposed; and the fourth year Political Economy and Civil Process.

A befehl only allows the professors of Gymnasiums and German schools to chastise the indolent and disobedient scholars in the presence of their parents; but the professors do not adhere to this, and arbitrarily punish them with a rod on the naked back. The catechising priests vent their spleen more particularly on those children who cannot understand the Trinity and other transcendent doctrines which are above their age and capacity.

The children having been once punished

and intimidated, afterwards always answer in the affirmative that they understand, and become learned and religious slaves, but without conviction and consequently without sincerity.

In former times only adult and intelligent men were introduced into the mysteries of religion. At present it is children of eight or ten years who learn, like parrots, the most transcendent dogmas and the sublimest mysteries.

Formerly also religion was revered and produced virtue and patriotism. It is now treated with contempt, and produces only hyprocrisy and egotism.

The servile Austrian spirit is not belied even amongst the professors. Monsieur Bohrer, professor of political economy, every time that he meets a Gubernial

councillor in the street and more particularly the Baron King, Aulic councillor, stops, uncovers himself, and stands like a Russian soldier on duty as sentinel before his officer, waiting in this attitude until the councillor is past.

The Austrians call this "German civilization."

The distinctive character of the Austrians is, that they are servile to the strong and insolent towards the weak.

The professors and priests in the schools and confessionals strongly forbid the scholars to reveal anything that takes place in the school or confessional.

The spy system is so well developed in Austria that children denounce their parents and parents their children.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop, Count Ankwicz secretly denounced to the general commanding in Gallicia, Count Fresnel,

a captain who had the misfortune to loose at cards the pay of his company.

The Catholic Archbishop, and the Burgomaster of Leopol are always secret councillors (Geheimrath) of the Kaiser. I say secret and not private councillor in order to preserve the German signification of *Geheimrath* to which from its functions of spy it is entitled.

The secret councillors have a right to address their complaints direct to the Kaiser. All the other authorities address them to their superiors.

It is forbidden to teach the French language in the public schools.

In general the Austrian Germans do not like the French language and hate France.

The priests and royalist emigrants of 1789 contributed considerably to this hatred by representing the French people as impious and anthropophagi

It is severely forbidden the professors and Priests to make or speak about any fresh miracles. The Austrian government which is anti-national for five-sixths of the population fears as much the light of reason as all that exaggerates or corrupts the imagination and produces fanatical stupidity. On the other hand the repetition is often ordered of that passage in the gospel which says "render unto Kaiser that which is Kaiser's." The book which bears the title of Commenius and which is taught in the German classes represents the Kaiser as head of all the sovereigns in Europe.

It is on this account say the professors that the Czar and all Kings present their homage to our Kaiser at Vienna and that he does not return their visits.

CHAPTER VI.

Religion—Form of Worship—Ecclesiastical Government—Holy Austrian Religion—Jesuits.

RELIGION consists in respect for, and fear of God. Its seat is in the heart of man, independent of all lay or ecclesiastical government, and of all forms of worship.

A form of worship is the manner of showing by acts that respect and fear—and depends on the customs and habits of a peo-

ple, and on the policy of the lay or ecclesiastical governments — religion may exist without an outward form of worship, and *vice versa*, the outward form without possessing religion.

The principles of real religion are the existence of one God and eternal life; the end of real religion is the perfection of man, that is to say, the rendering man as virtuous and happy as possible. All religion which is not based upon these principles is either false or falsified. The religion of Austria has for its exclusive end respect and fear of the Kaiser and obedience to his befehls. True religion, forms of worship, and the priesthood are only the instruments of Austrian religion. Persons professing the same religion or form of worship, compose a society called Church.

Churches have their government or legislative and executive body.

These ecclesiastical governments democratic, oligarchical, or monarchical, are more or less dependent on the lay government.

In Austria, the ecclesiastical government of the priests depends in everything on the lay government of the Kaiser.

Every government and form of worship has its object, which is not always in the interest of true religion.

The laws which are made and the ceremonies which are introduced to attain this end constitute the ecclesiastical policy known in the high region of the Austrian bureaucracy under the title of *Holy Policy.*

The Divine laws are open for the whole world—this code is the universe. God never dictated his laws to any mortal man—all written laws, all traditions are only human

laws, and mere copies of a Divine law, more or less false or faithful.

The criterion of the conformity of a copied law with its Divine original, the universe, is its popular emanation.

That law which is deciphered and interpreted by the people itself is the most authentic, and is almost Divine, because the voice of the people is the voice of God.

The promulgation of the Austrian catechism, and all ecclesiastical laws of Austria are under the superintendence of the Kaiser government.

It is forbidden the bishops, as well as all other subjects, to publish anything without the approbation of the censorship.

In the same manner that self-conservation is the chief motive of human societies, public bodies and assemblages of men in most of their actions, in a like manner we

hare in common with animals a vivid feeling of self-preservation—a feeling which being instinctive predominates over all others.

The chief aim of all governments is self-preservation.

A democratical government emanating from the people will have in view as its object the preservation of the people—an oligarchically sacerdotal government the conservation of the sacerdotal hierarchy of which it is the organ, and an absolute monarchical government will have for principal and exclusive aim the preservation of its throne.

The absolute throne and absolute altar will only look upon the people and upon God himself as useful and necessary instruments of their own conservation.

Those states in which the ecclesiastical

government is absolute and independent of their faithful subjects, and in which the civil government emanates from the people and is subject to its control, are in a most anomalous position,

The ecclesiastical absolute government will never lend its spiritual assistance to the civil constitutional governments, which either will or cannot in reciprocity abolish the liberty of the press and the progress of enlightenment the chief bugbears of all usurped authorities and of all despots temporal or spiritual.

The French who in 1830 overthrew the absolute throne and allowed the absolute altar to exist, appear to have rendered themselves amenable to the charge of inconsisttency which could only be palliated on the plea of there existing insurmountable obstacles to any other course. The Catholic

ligion may be the true religion but the tholic hierarchy and its form of worship e incompatible with liberty. In the same ay as the physical, so does the intellectual orld and all civil, political, or ecclesiastical cieties exist and manifest themselves by the uilibrium of their physical, intellectual, vil, political, or ecclesiastical strength. All at is not a force in itself is the instruent of some controlling force. In states d societies this is exercised and manifested the power of making, interpreting, and ecuting laws. Now as in Austria the aiser only has the power of making, intereting, and executing the civil and eccleastical laws, it follows that the Austrian iests and their flocks are only the religious struments of the throne. It is blasphemy confound religion with religious vernment or God with the priest—

the written law of God, or that which is manifested throughout the universe with the holy policy written in a catechism or a befehl. It is only men, virtuous, studious, and enlightened by the light of pure reason who penetrate the sanctuary of Divine legislation. Those who like owls only see clearly in that darkness which the brilliancy of the Divine light darkens for them, have never penetrated and never will penetrate the depths of the Divine code. The indolent who reclining voluptuously on their couches wait for the Almighty to descend from heaven into their cabinets, and reveal to them his laws and commands, and talk of having inspirations, are but shameless and blasphemous impostors.

God is just, and He has laid His code open for all the world to look therein. He would

be unjust and partial if He only revealed in secret, and only to a Moses or a Pope, the precepts, the knowledge and observances which are necessary to the salvation of the whole world.

The principles and end of true religion cannot and ought not to change. But the laws and dogmas of religious policy, or the means of teaching its principles, as well as of arriving at the supreme end, may, and must necessarily change and be adapted to the state of civilization of the period and people. The form of worship, that is to say the expression of our sentiments towards God, may differ, vary, be modified and improved.

The celebrated philosopher Kant thus defines religion.* "*Religion is nothing more*

* Die religion ist nicht anderes, als gesetz-gebung der vernunft, um der moral Durch, die aus

than the legislation of reason acting through the moral feelings arising from the self-produced idea of God, influencing the human will to fulfil its duties."

Religion is one of the four agents, which the temporal government employs, in order easily to govern the people.

It is impossible to govern conveniently without the aid of religion, which ought to form our hearts and render us virtuous.

The more free the administration of a country the more is virtue indispensable in its citizens. France is therefore more in want of real religion than the absolute Austrian Government which can replace it by the befehl or the stock.

The Christian religion in general, and the

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dieser selbst erzeugte idee von gott auf den menschlichen willen zur erfullung aller seiner Pflichten Einfluss zu geben.

Catholic more particularly, is a true religion because it has for basis the existence of one God and eternal life, as well as the object of rendering man virtuous ; but the ecclesiastical, Catholic, and A-catholic governments, and their policy, are destructive to liberty, and consequently to the virtue of the people, because these oligarchical or papistical governments being absolute and not emanating from the people, treat and look upon, and use, as their servile instrument, that God whose will and precepts can only be truly manifested through the voice of multitudes—*Vox populi vox Dei.*

The newspapers in the interest of the absolute thrones, and the priests themselves who complain that morals are becoming weak and corrupt, and that religion is not observed, confess and establish their own inefficacious inaptitude, and the pernicious in-

fluence of their holy policy and of their forms of worship, which no longer keep pace with the civilization of the age.

There are in Catholic countries thousands of priests, pulpits, and confessionals, which cost the people millions, and these priests, well fed and paid, proclaim in the face of the world that morals are corrupt, and that there is no religion. It is therefore now the duty of the temporal government and of those legislative bodies composed of fathers of families, and consequently more interested, than the unmarried priests, in the happiness and virtue of legitimate posterity, and in the eternal life of their country, to deliberate, discuss, and decide in the name of the people, that is to say, of God. Not on religion, or the necessity of worshipping God, but upon the mode in which He shall be worshipped, on the necessity, the number,

marriage or celibacy of the priests, on the form of the ecclesiastical government, on the authority and power of priests operating such miracles as condemning or absolving sins; on the present necessity or utility of auricular confession, instituted in the Fourteenth Century, on analogy and connexion existing on the one hand between religion and its chief end, morality, and on the other, upon the authority of the priests arising from secret revelation and disapproved by the public revelation of God.

In Austria all forms of worship and all the attribution of the priests depend upon the good will of the Kaiser.

Crime and falsehood only have cause to hide themselves and tremble when reason speaks. The Christian religion does not fear but on the contrary seeks enlightenment or liberty of the press.

True religion as an intellectual force disdains the support of a temporal despotic government.

It does not oppose bayonets, the stock, the knout, or papal bulls to reason—it does not require secret revelations or miracles to render man virtuous and teach him to do unto others as he would that others should do unto him.

It is our blind faith and our ignorance, our genuflections before the priests which gave birth to their pride and unmeasured audacity and which are the source of all human calamities.

The Austrian priests are, like all the other officials, inhuman and haughty towards the people, servile and truckling to the Kaiser and his government, to whom they denounce all generous and virtuous men.

They preach every Sunday and prove by

their conduct that servile submission to the despot and his befehls is the first of all Catholic virtues. * A learned German observed to me that in Catholic countries the women confessed by unmarried priests have more personal and social dignity than the acatholic women, † English, German, or Russian; but they, at the same time, mix

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* Though the higher clergy in Gallicia has proved itself servile to the Kaiser, the great bulk of this body has recently proved its humanity and patriotism. The clergy interfered between the peasantry and Austrian agents and other victims. One of these solemn processions was fired upon by the orders of the Austrian authorities and several hundreds of the inferior clergy are now imprisoned and being deliberately punished by Metternich, for this interference.

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† The particle A. is derived from the Greek and signifies non. The word Acatholic is commonly used in Austria.

themselves more in politics and intrigues. They have more dominion over their husbands than the acatholic women under the spiritual care of married priests, fathers of families.

"In England, Austria, Germany, and Russia, it is men of a cold and severe policy, married laymen or ecclesiastics who give the religion and dictate the national form of worship to the women; on the contrary, the Italians, Spaniards, and you Catholic Poles," said he, "receive the Latin faith from your women directed by unmarried confessors." In the Catholic mode of worship there is nothing for the mind—all is sensuality materialism, luxury, etc. etc., because all that pleases the women who lead their husbands to the confessional.

The Marquis of C——, Catholic member of the Chamber of Deputies, author of

/eral pamphlets, appears to confirm this inion of the learned acatholic, he says in ı pamphlet entitled '*Feu! Feu!*' "the women have preserved that virility of soul which men have lost in the debaucheries of materialism and doubt.

"Women have obtained that sort of influence which strong always obtain over weak minds."

The Marquis, under the surreptitious le of Timon, says furthermore, that the nch Bishops are powerful because they poor and do not frequent the courts of ıstitutional sovereigns, but of despots. t the Marquis does not say whether it uld not be better if the Marchionesses, ntesses, and Viscountesses were to take ir seats in the legislative chambers in- ıd of their husbands, Counts, Viscounts, l other illustrations of despotism and

legislative authorities, who do not even suspect how they are led.

The people must be distinguished from the lay and ecclesiastical aristocracy. If the reproaches which the Marquesses and Jesuits make to France are addressed to the French people, they are revolting calumnies; but if only to the capitalists, of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the *soi disant* royal French nobility, then such reproaches may be just and merited.

In the same ratio that the French people in as regards virtue, morality, and love of country, above all the other countries of Europe, are the antinational nobility, and French jesuits below the nobles and priests of other countries. Never did the Polish, Russian, German, or English noblemen set themselves at the head of foreign bands to fight against their country. The

real French national nobility, since 1789, is the French people. Whilst the Catholic clergy of the country, driven by the courtiers of the nomade court, by the absolute sovereign of Rome, by Austrian agents and creatures, and by the Jesuits, will not submit to a constitutional or democratical government, and seeks to form a state within the state a government within the government.

The Austrian clergy, including the Jesuits, submit willingly to the despotic temporal government and to the befehls of the Kaiser, who protects all inhuman abuses and libertuide institutions.

The Kaiser is the visible head of all Religions and sects in his empire—to accustom his clergy and subjects to look upon him and venerate him as Pope, he exercises the functions of Pope.

Amongst other things he washes, himself, every Holy Thursday the feet of his twelve Apostles, and by a happy innovation inspired by revelation and approved of by the Jesuits and other gallant priests, his wife, the Kaiserinn washes the feet of twelve feminine Apostles. The authors of this last innovation are the Kaiser Francis First and his Vizier Metternich.

The Christian Religion is professed in Gallicia by the following different sects; Firstly, the Catholic; Secondly, the Greek called Orthodox; Thirdly the Protestant called Evangelical. The Catholic faith is subdivided into three branches: Firstly, the Roman Catholic or Latin: Secondly, the united Greek Catholic: Thirdly, the Armenian Catholic. All these sects are called Catholics because they acknowledge in the form at least the primacy of the Roman

Pontiff which is essential in order to merit the title of Catholic or universal signified by the Greek word καθολικος but there exists however a remarkable difference between these forms of worship.

The Roman Catholic resembles very nearly that of the French Catholics. The Austrian Priests wear black surplices and ordinary hats like laymen, off duty a dark coloured dress. Count Ankwicz, Archbishop and *Primas Regni*, only dons his ecclesiastical costume in church, and when he walks out wears a fashionably cut coat, knee breeches, silk stockings, shoes *à la marquis*, and rouges his cheeks.

The Prelate is accompanied by a Deacon, and followed by one or two lacqueys or chasseurs; the passers by salute him by uncovering their heads.

The Catholic Priests of other countries

have therefore reason to say that the Catholic religion is respected in Austria.

The Greek form of worship is divided into two branches; Firstly, the united Greek or Catholic, and Secondly, the Greek not united called Schismatic.

The priests of the orthodox, united or Catholic branch, only differ from those of the non-united by acknowledging the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, whereas the priest of the non-united branch do not acknowledge it.

Both have a right founded on the gospel of contracting marriage, but only once, with a young person not a widow.

They both say mass in the Sclavonian language, and communicate with wine and bread cut into small pieces.

They have the power of transubstantiation.

The Armenian Catholic Priests are all un-

married and say mass in the Armenian language.

In all else it resembles the Roman form. Each of these three Catholic sects has its Archbishopric at Leopol, so that there are three Catholic Archbishops in the same town, of which is afforded no other instance in the Catholic world.

The Catholic united Greek Bishop bears the title of metropolitan; the Roman Archbishop the title of Primas Regni.

A Befehl of the Kaiser declares the Roman Catholic religion to be dominant (herrschende) and the enemies of Catholicism hence infer that the Catholic religion best suits despotism.

The Roman Catholic priests for this reason alone enjoy tithes or forced labour from the Polish Catholics or Acatholics. The Germans are not subject to this charge.

The Austrian Catholic catechism especially orders by the fifth church commandment the payment of tithes to the Roman Catholic Priests. Formerly the Christian religion was persecuted by the Kings, they now protect it, it is therefore no longer the same.

The Evangelical or Protestant religion is professed by Germans established in Poland, and protected by the government.

It has its ministers who are all married, and equal amongst themselves. They do not assume the power of transubstantiation. All the Evangelical ministers of the Austrian Empire depend upon the Evangelical Consistory which has its seat at Vienna.

The doors of their places of worship may not open into public streets.

All members of Protestant congregations can read, write and reckon.

Their schools are directed and superintended by the pastors themselves.

The Evangelical religion requires that every believer should be able to read and interpret the gospel of his own accord.

I was employed two years in the office of Ecclesiastical affairs, at the gubernium, and we received no complaints or denunciations on the part of ministers against their flocks relative to religion on ; the other hand, M. Ziegler, ex Jesuit, Catholic Bishop of Tarnow, and M. Patocki, Roman Catholic Bishop of Przemysl, loaded us with complaints against their flocks, and even against the subordinate priests.

The congregations and priests made re-reprisals.

A priest who had been persecuted and denounced by his Bishop, for living in the married state with a pompadour called

housekeeper, as is nearly universally practised in Austria, denounced, out of revenge, amongst other complaints to the Gubernium, that his Lordship Patocki was member of a family of a nomade and vagabond tribe, which is called in Polish, Cygan, and in German, Zigeuner, the greater part of whom are robbers ;* unfortunately his Lordship, to whom this complaint was communicated, could not give satisfactory explanation to the Gubernium. His physiognomy, accent, bearing and character gave considerable plausibility to the priest's accusation. To prevent the scandal which might have ensued, his Lordship was recalled to Vienna by the Aulic chancellery. M. Ziegler, confessor to the Empress Mother,

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* Gipsies.

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who used to denounce in a mass all patriotic and honest Poles, met with the same fate. I have already observed that all the Archbishops and greater part of the Bishops are intimate (secret) councillors of the Kaiser and his government.

In that capacity they are obliged to denounce to the Kaiser himself and his government all that may appear to them, or that they may deem detrimental or dangerous to his temporal or spiritual policy.

The Austrian Bishops never preach, they are rather instruments of the temporal policy and police rather than good clergymen.

The Bishops are therefore chosen from amongst the priests who have gone through a course of four years' theology, or rather hierology at Vienna, were they are taught *how to give religions their just political value,*

according to the expression used in the higher circles of the Austrian government. The orthodox Acatholics have a Bishop at Czerniowa, and a few churches in the circle of the same name.

The Israelites, the number of whom in Gallicia amounts to 300,000, have their synagogues and priests called Rabbis, distributed according to the parishes. During his journey through that province in 1817 the Kaiser Francis successively visited all Catholic and acatholic churches. On entering the Jewish synagogue the Kaiser uncovered himself, but it was remarked to him that the Jews remained with their heads covered ; the Kaiser then covered himself, presented himself before an altar prepared for him, and assisted at the Jewish ceremony for more than three quarters of an hour. The greater part praised this conduct of their sovereign, and said that all the kings of the earth ought to

imitate this example—that all religions, Jewish, German, Anglican, Roman or Greek, may be equally good, and that God understands all languages, but the more fervent Christians were shocked, and the report was even spread that the Habsburgs were of Jewish origin, that they emigrated from Africa in the ninth or tenth Century, and established themselves as traders in Switzerland, where they became rich, and acquired the favour of the German Sovereigns who made them Counts.

When a living is vacant, the patron lord has a right of presenting a candidate to the bishop, but he is also obliged to furnish materials for the construction and repairs of the church and glebe house.

The parishioners furnish the work—the government contributes nothing.

Since the Austrian Invasion, many churches

and convents have been suppressed, or converted into storehouses of hay and straw, or into barracks.

All the Christian priests receive salaries from the government—the archbishops receive £600, bishops £400, canons £100 a year; the curates, from £30 to £40, and the vicar, from £14 to £20 a year. All the Roman Catholic bishops, and most of the canons and curates are in the enjoyment of tithes, and possess towns and villages subject to the *robot*. The Roman Catholic archbishop of Leopol enjoys a clear income of £8000 per annum.

The government only pays to the clergy the portion which is wanting to make up the above mentioned salaries. The tithes, forced labour, voluntary offerings of the parishioners, such as bread, honey, payment for masses, marriages and burials, fees,

etc. etc., are reckoned up in a niggardly manner by the authorities of the Circles, estimated higher than the real value, and substracted from the incomes of the clergy.

When the amount of these tithes and perquisites exceeds the stipulated amount of salary, then the clergyman is obliged to pay all the direct and indirect taxes.

The income of a vacant curacy returns to the Kaiser, under the denomination of religious or intercalary fund. The archbishopric of Leopol was only given to M. Ankwicz several years after the death of his predecessor, by which delay the Kaiser gained nearly £40,000. All the property of the suppressed churches and convents belong to the Kaiser, as supreme guardian of religious creeds. The curates keep the registers of births, deaths, and marriages. They are looked upon as functionaries; other bishops have

also the right of forbidding a curate to officiate, but the gubernium decides when it is a question of suspending his salary or emoluments. In all the Catholic and Acatholic churches there are benches. They do not let out chairs for hire during mass, as in other Catholic churches. In general the Austrian clergy is, past comparison, better instructed than the Catholic clergy of other countries, who are abandoned soul and body to the bishops, who make of them the most docile, ignorant, superstitious, and fanatical instruments. The Catholic clergyman of other countries makes no other answer to political, or philosophical objections than signing the cross, turning his back, or taking to his breviary or catechism, which, like the Pharisee, he carries at all times and everywhere. The Austrian priest, on the contrary, who has studied mathematics,

natural philosophy, and rhetoric, under lay professors, holds more with the world than the body of priests; he is more independent of the bishop, than the priests of other countries; he does not seek, but if he meet he boldly struggles with the difficulties of religion. He disposes of his arguments and sophisms, according to the rules of logic, puts them into the form of a syllogism, then launches didactically forth his *sorites*, and dexterously envelopes his opponent or interlocutor in his terminology and his dilemmas, as a spider envelops a fly in its web and always gains the victory over a less skillful antagonist.

The priests of other countries, instead of reasoning, find it more convenient to anathematise and excite against you, women and fools whom they have fanaticised. The blindness, and error of the Catholic priests of

foreign countries arise from the fact of their religion having the exclusive end of maintaining their own hierarchy, whereas the end of the Austrian religion is the consecration of the despotic throne.

The Austrian priests who speak and act in the interest of others, show themselves calmer and more disinterested, and find by these means more credit with the faithful.

It is remarked in Gallicia that the united Greek Catholic priests are distinguished by their profound erudition, and that they value more the liberty and happiness of the people than the legitimacy of despotism, because they are married and have children, whose happiness they have more at heart than the interests of the throne. They even pretend to prove by experience, that those sworn to celibacy ought to be excluded from professorship and legislation.

The Austrian Government therefore makes use of the Jesuits to convert them to Roman Catholicism.

The Austrian government has, above all, at heart the wish of abolishing in the Greek church the Sclavonian language and substituting the latin tongue, that she may ultimately replace the Sclavonian priests by Germans, as it has long since practised in the Roman church.

The Poles instead of seconding this German and Jesuitical tendency ought rather to request the Pope to allow the marriage of Roman Catholic priests and the introduction of the Polish language in the liturgy instead of the Latin tongue, which renders their religion autocratical, and separates the people, who do not understand the latin tongue, from the priests and lords.

To make proselytes, the Jesuits and Roman Catholics do not fail to set forth that the

united Greek religion is only a religion of the lower orders, whereas the Roman Catholic is professed by so many Princes and Kings, and by the Kaiser and his court. Almost all the Poles who are become fashionable, embrace the religion of the Austrian court and abandon that of their ancestors—in fact experience proves that there is more aristocracy of feeling in constitutional France than in absolute and Protestant Germany; and there was and is more aristocracy and tyranny towards the people in Catholic Poland than in Ecclesiastical Russia.*

* Bad as may be the condition of the Sclavonic peasantry under the Roman Catholic government of Austria, and in Silesia under the Lutheran government of Prussia, it is far worse under the rule of Russia which belong to the Greek faith. The peasantry are only serfs in the two former states, but slaves in the latter.

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It is generally pretended that the province of the Jesuits is to maintain the Catholic religion in its purity, or to re-establish it, and also to maintain the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope.

Their assertions and conjectures are refuted by reason and by facts. Jesuitism is of Austrian invention, and the Jesuits are only agents of the Kaisers of Habsburgh and of despotism in general. It was during the reign of the Austrian Princes that the inquisition lit its funeral piles in Spain. It was also under the reign of Charles the Fifth of Habsburgh, Emperor of Germany, and King of Spain, that Ignatius Loyola founded, in 1534, a new institution; after some slight difficulties, which were smoothened by the Kaiser, Pope Paul III. approved it, under the name of clerks of the company of Jesus. Certainly at that period of Austrian Despotism in

Spain, Loyola would not have dared or been able to establish this institution without the consent of his sovereign. At the time that this institution was founded, the religion, that is to say the power of the Popes and Priests, was at its apogee.

The inquisition or holy office and supremacy were in full vigour. Religion, as Priests understand it, did not require the assistance of this institution, it must therefore have been founded from motives purely temporal and political.

In fact, to lower Catholic France the Jesuits have opened the road in the East to schismatical England, the natural ally of Austria; to deliver over to Austria and the Germans the Poles, generous but imprudent defenders of Catholicism, the Jesuits lit the torch of civil war.

They fanaticised the Catholic Poles and

excited them against the Protestant and orthodox Poles, but what proves that the object of the Jesuits was not the propagation of the Catholic religion is that, at the time they were exciting the Poles against the Poles, they tolerated and favoured the German Jews in Poland.

They were merely the servile instruments of the Kaisers whose policy with regard to Poland required the establishment of German Jews and the extirpation of the Poles of the Greek faith.

We will descend to the origin of catholicism in Poland, that our readers may judge by themselves of the pernicious influence exercised by the Kaisers, Popes and Jesuits in the political and religious affairs of this country.

Catholicism, that is to say Papal supremacy, was introduced and acknowledged in

Poland, in 965, by the Polish Woiwode, Duke Mieczyslas, who, as a recompense, received from the Pope and Germanic Sovereigns, the title of King.

Before the introduction of Catholicism, and even before the birth of Christ, the Polish Sclavonians, comprised by the Greek and Roman historians, under the denomination of Scythians, or wild men, professed and practised the Christian precepts; but they had no priests, because it appeared to them more proper to pray to the Almighty, and to worship him personally.

They thought that the most important affair, the salvation of the soul, ought not to be treated by mercenary priests, or by hirelings, but by themselves.

They had no temples, because in their simplicity they looked upon the entire uni-

verse as God's temple: they believed that God was everywhere, and that he sees all things. They were hospitable and virtuous. Herodotus, Justinian, Horace, Plutarch, Lucian, Strabo, and others render justice to them on this point, under the denomination of Scythians.

The Sclavonian inhabitants of the Volga asked for Christian Bishops from the Emperor Michael the stammerer, who sent them, in 858, Constantine of Thessalonica, known by the name of Cyril.

The Sclavonian Prince Ratislaw or Rastiz, Sovereign of Moravia, summoned from Constantinople the Bishops Methodius and Cyril in 863, and drove away the German Catholic Bishop, who only preached the Catholic religion amongst the Sclavonians to render them tributary.

Louis the German had the eyes torn out of the Sclavonian Prince Ratislaw, who endeavoured to throw off the German yoke, and his treasure was pillaged and transported to Bavaria, (870).

Under the reign of Arnulfe, the German army overran Moravia, overthrowing, burning or destroying all that crossed their path (893). Wishing to augment the influence of the Latin Bishops, by increasing their wealth, Otto had rendered them odious to the Sclavonian nations, the sweat of whose brow paid the cost of this display—and Catholicism, which rendered them tributaries of the priests, inspired them with the same hatred towards the German nation, which took this religion under its direction and patronage—" for the Saxons had more at heart to receive tributes than the salva-

tion of souls, and though born of Christian ancestors they were found vain and sterile in the work of the Lord." Helmodi Chroni. cap. 12 et 22.

APPENDIX.

VOL. I.

APPENDIX.

(NOTE TO PAGE 56.)

The constitution decreed by the last Polish general diet.

ALREADY on the 7th of September, 1789, a deputation was appointed which was to draw up the constitutional charter. The opposition, not ceasing to annoy the diet, originated the discussion on the fundamental laws (Kardinalne) which were distinguished from the constitution as the vital principle

of the republic's existence. On this occasion the conservation of the integrity of the country, without the least infringement of the limits of the republic, passed without opposition. The other fundamental articles underwent great discussion. It was asked in the month of December, 1789, that the deputation, charged with the new constitution, should submit to the deliberation of the diet, the basis of the future charter.

This basis was presented in the form of eight articles and the debates which followed became complicated by intermixture with the discussions on the fundamental laws.

At the sitting of the 29th of March, 1790, the eight articles were however unanimously agreed to and sanctioned. A question was mooted as grave, as delicate, that of changing the elective into an hereditary throne. It silenced the prolonged debates on the fun-

damental laws and was sent from the Diet to the Dietines in order that the whole nation might participate in a decision of such high importance.

Length of the Debates—their Publicity.

THE debates of the Diet, constantly maintained since two years, more solemn than all those preceding them, by their great length, drew from the whole of Poland and Lithuaina towards the capital an immense concourse of citizens, anxious to follow closely the important work of saving their country. The population of the capital increased about one third.

Every day numerous crowds assembled in the halls of public discussion. They bore the title of arbitrators, as if they had been sent by public opinion to hear and appreciate the deliberations, and to be reporters of what was passing in the interior of the chambers. They did in fact disseminate the different opinions given by the representatives of the nation, and their debates. Through the voice of these auditors, and that of the public journals, the tribune found everywhere an echo.

The press, at the same time, greatly assisted the civic work, as the intermedium through which the statesmen and other citizens whose thoughts were pre-occupied with questions of moment, anxiously scrutinized them, and communicated to the public their own ideas and views which were sought with avidity. Every important project that was to be pre-

sented to the Diet was previously weighed, supported or opposed in the private conversations of families, in civic meetings, and by numerous writers (51). The subjects of discussion were always multiplying, and kept in activity the general attention. The clergy and its property, the starosties, towns, their form of government, the hereditary nature of the throne, the elections, the form of the debates of the Diet, jurisdiction, relations with neighbouring courts, their intrigues, the policy of Europe in general, gave rise to numerous discussions, as much in inferior as in more considerable publications, which came to the assistence of the serious deliberations of the Diet. Public opinion was previously forcibly pronounced on each project which was to be submitted to the decision of the representatives, thus their opinion was the opinion of the nation.

Wybicki Staszic the Rzevuskis, Francis and James Jezierski, Makulski, and many others devoted themselves to the task of preparing, informing, and instructing the public mind. Bars, Mendrzecki, and other authors, by their historical lucubrations on the ancient rights of towns, powerfully contributed to the acceptation of the law concerning towns and burghs. The writings of Severin Rzevuski, and Albert Turski advocates of an elective throne, were refuted by Hugh Kollantai, Thadeus Morski, and others who maintained the hereditary principle. The nation read all these publications, because familiar with the contradictory opinions and prepared themselves to deliberate and decide on the most delicate question concerning a prerogative which had been preserved, with an extreme jealousy, since several Centuries.

New Diet re-united to the old hereditary nature of the throne.

A decision had been again come to, on the proposition of Michael Zaleski, Nuncio of Troki, on the 29th November, 1778, that the Diet would be prolonged as long as was necessary; when, however, the two years of the sitting had expired, and that the period of an ordinary Diet, which must have been as usual preceded by the Dietines, approached, the question of the time of duration of the Diet was resumed. The opposition wished to profit by this opportunity in order to dissolve the Diet, that the one which was about being called together might have an open field. But the confederates of the Diet found an expedient

which frustrated the efforts of the opposition, and the proposition was put to the vote; one hundred and fifteen votes against sixteen declared for the continuation of the confederated Diet until the 7th of Feb. 1791, in order to leave the newly elected Nuncios sufficient time to unite themselves to the old ones, who were to give them useful and necessary information on the march of affairs—and better to prepare their minds for the important decisions which were to be made before their separation. The Dietines therefore occupied themselves with the choice of Nuncios to the Diet, and then took into consideration the hereditary nature of the throne. They approved of all the decisions of the confederated Diet, they accepted the hereditary propositions, and chose Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, and grandson of Augustus the

Third King of Poland, as presumptive successor to the King and chief of the dynasty who in his person was to occupy the throne on the death of Stanislas Augustus. It was declared that in the event of his being without male descendents, his daughter, the Infanta, should be looked upon as successor to the throne of the Republic. The election being terminated, the new Nuncios arrived at Warsaw the 16th of December 1790, and united themselves to the members of the sitting Diet. The grand confederated Diet thus prolonged its debates with a double number of members, because the old ones continued to sit, even after the 7th of Feb. 1791. They began by doing away with the fundamental laws of the 20th of Dec. 1790, and the old question of the Dietines was resumed, the discussion of which recommenced on the 7th of May 1790. It was

only terminated three months after its resumption the 24th of March 1791. At the same time another law on the towns and Burgesses was resolved on the 18th of April 1791.

Burghers admitted to the enjoyment of Political Rights, 1791.

THE Burghers in reclaiming the re-establishment of their ancient rights, proved by documents that they were formerly in the enjoyment of representation, and appealed to the intelligence and the judgment of the legislators, before whom they were certain of finding justice. The deliberating nobility

understood very well that it had before it the high mission of repressing anarchical abuses, of correcting the institutions established in its favour to the detriment of other classes of the nation—it therefore undertook this task with calmness, and though anxious to preserve its own immense prerogatives, did not show itself jealous of the Burghers. A law was in consequence promulgated, by which not only the ancient prerogatives and privileges of the Burghers were re-established in all their plentitude, but which equalised also representation of the Burghers with that of the nobility in the chambers, and which admitted gradually and partially the Burgher classes to the civic prerogatives of the nobility. In order to attain this object with greater facility it was suggested to Suchorzevski, Nuncio of Kalisz, how much benefit his party would derive from appropriating and

supporting this project of law. He was induced seriously to take it up, thinking by this step really to gain the Burgher class and its representatives for the Branicki party, and to turn, at the same time, the public feeling against the patriots, who would not fail to attack this proposition, if he charged himself with it. This clever deception of a declared partizan of Russia, contributed considerably to the success and acceleration of the decision. In virtue of this law the deputies of the towns took their seats in the Diet directly, and seated themselves at the side of the noble Nuncios. The national representation in the confederated Diet, already doubled, thus saw itself still further increased.

The Constitution of 1791 *agreed upon.*

The substance and basis of the constitution, drawn up by the deputation appointed for this object, was known, but the following articles remained unknown to the deputation. In the mean time the exterior political changes in diplomacy which were taking place began to alarm Poland.

The friendly courts assumed an unquiet attitude, with which the unknown project of a republican and charter had inspired them. At this period the debates were carried on with slowness and languor.

In consideration of the external relations of the state, it became necessary to accellerate the march of events, and clear up this

gloomy state of things by the promulgation of the projected changes.

The King was of the same opinion and the 5th of May was agreed and definitively fixed upon to this effect, without the opposite party being informed of it; but Stanislas Augustus, confiding the secret to those in whom he placed trust, informed Hyacinth Malachowski, chancellor of the crown, he communicated it to the partisans of Branickis, who spread the alarm. At this crisis their party took upon itself to disturb the deliberations. To this end it ordered its agents to arm the multitude. The patriots and King being informed of this, and in order to prevent the scandal which would ensue, anticipated, by two days, the ceremony of the proclamation of the new constitution. On the eve of that day, that is to

say, on the evening of the second of May, when they were assembled in the Radzivil palace, to read through confidentially this act, partisans of the opposition, and strangers to the Diet, surreptitiously obtained admittance. When the perusal was finished they learnt that these individuals were endeavouring to indispose public opinion by blaming and calumniating every where the act which they had just heard read. In order to baffle any sinister attempt which their adversaries might have prepared, and not to compromise the public tranquillity, they at night again assembled in the house of the venerable Marshal Malachovski. The assembled members, after having assured themselves of an absolute majority, following the example of Adam Krasinski, Bishop of Kamienice, signed the declaration of abstaining from all

superfluous motions, and to remove all incidents, which might tend to retard the acceptation of the constitution—

On the morning of the third of May, 1791, the avenues, passages, staircases, and court yard of the royal castle, where the Diet assembled, were filled by an immense concourse of people. Each one went imbued with a religious sentiment of confidence in a happy issue; Marshal Malachovski, and the Nuncio of Cracow, Stamslas Soltik, invited the deputation of foreign affairs to render an account of the exterior policy of the republic. Its report did not pass without observation; Suchorzevski nuncio of Kalisz, interrupting the perusal on several occasions,succeeded in making a scenical demonstration; having at his side a son hardly six years of age, he dragged himself

to the foot of the throne on his knees, declaring that he would rather sacrifice his son than allow the immolation of national liberty. Having obtained a hearing by this theatrical step, he felt obliged to accuse the party who were about to propose the constitution, of sedition and plotting against his life. When he had terminated his discourse, the reading of the report of the deputation was continued. Its contents were full of sinister augury. Peace was on the eve of being concluded between Russia and Turkey. The bad faith and perfidy of a power which called itself the friend of Poland was manifest, and traces were discovered of the degeneracy of certain Poles in the pay of foreigners.

Ignatius Potocki, Marshal of the court, addressed himself to Stanislas Augustus and

called upon him to propose the most efficacious means of saving the country, the King indicated it by the publication and acceptation of the prepared constitution.

After a short debate its perusal was immediately proceeded with.

The Constitution is proclaimed and accepted the 3rd of May 1791

When the perusal was completed the opposition broke out into murmurs, and in arguing against the project, lost several hours of valuable time. It was answered laconically and with precision ; a few dissentient voices only were feebly heard when Zabiello, Nuncio

solicited the king and assembled states to take oath to the new constitution without delay. This proposition was received with universal acclamations, and at the same time all the members of the Diet threw themselves spontaneously at the foot of the throne, in order to testify their respect for the majesty of their chief. The king immediately called the Bishop of Cracow, Turski, to take oath ; having sworn, he descended from the throne, directing his steps towards the church, with him the Senate, the nuncios, dignitaries, employès, the court, and an immense crowd of people hurried towards the Altar of the Most High, where the representatives of the nation solemnly took oath. Hardly a dozen amongst them hesitated, and remained in the hall, which was abandoned by every one. But even these gave in their adhesion by a particular act ; when

in the sitting of the 5th of May, Joseph Kossakovski, Bishop of Livonia, proposed to pass the new constitution by a majority of voices. Conformably to his request it was three times put to the question (ad Turnum), and three times sanctioned unanimously, without any voice being raised against it. The joy and happiness of the capital spread with rapidity throughout the whole country. The hearts of all Poles were filled with the most elevated sentiments at the accomplishment of such a work, which was to demonstrate to Europe, and the entire world, that the Polish nation was able to effect its political regenerationof its own accord, that it perfectly understood its rights and knew how to maintain and preserve its liberty in harmony with the monarchical principle, to which it seemed inclined to render homage, for such was the opinion of the moment.

After a lapse of nine months since the epoch of the proclamation, a period devoted to mature examination of the general opinion, the citizens united on the 14th of February 1792, at the Dietines, accepted everywhere unanimously the new constitution and swore to defend it.

Hugh Kollontai, Vice Chancellor of the Crown, and Ignatius Potocki, Marshal of the Court of Lithuania, had contributed, the most actively, not only to the drawing up of this constitution, but also to influencing opinion as much in the interior of the Diet as with the public and also in directing the execution of this great act.

Government Charter, 1791.

THE constitutional charter known by the name of constitution of the third of May bore the title of fundamental law. According to the dispositions of this law the Catholic remains the religion of the state; other forms of worship are exercised freely, but the King must be of the Roman Catholic faith. The throne is considered hereditary. The nobles preserve their ancient privileges and there exists between them a perfect equality. The royal towns are free and send their deputies to participate in the deliberations of the Diet. These deputies at the expiration of the second year of their functions are ennobled, The same favor is granted to the inferior grades of the public service civil or military enjoyed by the burghers.

The agricultural class of peasants is taken under the especial protection of the law, in order that its individual liberty may be respected and guaranteed against arbitrary proceedings. The legislative power rests with the two chambers of the Diet which assembles every two years. At this period it must assemble without being convened, but it must also always be ready to assemble wherever its marshal may convoke it in any urgent cases pre-determined by law. The chamber of deputies composed of landed nunicos and deputies from the towns represents all the national sovereignty. The laws which are there deliberated upon and decreed pass to the deliberation of the senatorial chamber, composed of Bishops, palatines, Castellans, and ministers at the head of whom is the king as president. The plurality of voices decides everywhere. Certain laws are sanctioned by

the united suffrage of both chambers. Thus they conjointly decide. Others are sent to be sanctioned by the senate who can stop their promulgation until the votes of the next Diet. In case of parity of suffrages the king has the casting vote; the executive power confided to the King is divided into administrations of national education, police war, and treasury. There is for the King's supreme executive power a council called the law-guard (straz) composed of six ministers wherein the King presides and decides. His decisions are there countersigned by one of the ministers. The King possesses the right of appointing senators for life, and other dignitaries, employés and ministers, without the power of removing them from their functions, because they are responsible to the nation. During the interval which elapses between one diet and another,

the King, conjointly with his council, is invested with the power of making temporary regulations and of concluding provisional treaties.

The separate and independent judicial authority is exercised by elective judges. Territorial, justice belongs to the nobility. The referendary jurisdiction for the peasantry and towns preserves its particular administration of justice. The tribunals of appeal for the nobility, and the assessorial tribunals for the towns constitute the supreme courts. State crimes and accused ministers are judged by the High Court of the Diet; which High Court is permanently appointed between the sittings of the Diet. The *liberum veto* and the confederations are suppressed for ever. Every five and twenty years a revision and amelioration of the constitution will be discussed in a

Diet extraordinary convoked for this especial purpose.

The republican democracy restricted to the noble masses experienced in its institutions a great shock in the 17th and 18th Centuries. The sovereignity of the ennobled masses had to struggle with monarchical pretensions. Its principle of equality with aristocratical exceptions, its spirit of fraternity, with religious animosities and intolerance, its independence with foreign influence. Those institutions which were guardians of liberty became disfigured. The Rokosh, the veto, the confederations, and even the Diets and the whole body of the nobles lost their vigour, and saw escape from their hands all the powerful instruments of their sovereignity—cries were raised on all sides against the monstrous situation of the

republic, against the vices which tyrannized over it. This state of things was deplored, and preparations were laid made to remedy the evil; plans were down for this object; some wished to correct what was bad, others to reform and substitute good for evil. To correct was to support the republic and its institutions, substitution of another order was to overturn the republic and establish a monarchy in its stead. Parties gathered in these two opinions and each one approached more or less towards its object without being able to attain it. In the mean time all the springs of the republic were loosened and distended.

During this perplexity the confederation of Bar was formed, it had in the beginning no other aim than the national independence —but the confederates having taken refuge on a foreign soil at Teschen and Eperies, watched at a distance, the destinies of their country.

with an attention which induced them to reflect on its future organization. In the hope of some day triumphing they formed plans and discussed whether it was necessary to correct only or to re-organize or transform. For this end they sought the assistance and councils of foreigners. Vielhorski representative of the confederation in France, in order to enlighten foreigners on the state of his country's institutions, communicated to several of them a picture of the Government of Poland, and he asked in the name of the confederates the advice of distinguished writers, amongst others Mercier de la Riviere, the Abbé Mably, and Jean, Jacques Rousseau, wrote their reflections on the government of Poland. The confederates having succumbed these works remained in possession of the Poles, and served them for guidance and council. Two of these documents are

peculiarly worthy of the notice of those who investigate the question of Polish legislation. Their writers have an immense influence on the destiny of Poland, their works on its government became the point of departure of the diverging opinions, which were disputed in the national legislative assemblies, Jean Jacques Rousseau, author of the social contract philosopher and writer, was citizen of a small republic. The Abbé Mably, a scrutinizing historian and writer, the subject of a despotic monarchy. They passed their opinions on the republican institutions and communicated their observations and councils towards 1771, at the request of Vielhorski. The philosopher's diction is more energetic, animated and concise, without regarding the person of the Count Vielhorski whom he wishes to obey, he analyses the subject and discusses it. The Abbé Mably acquits him-

self of his task more like a courtier. Full of politeness, he addresses himself continually to the Count what he has the honor to tell him, and he takes the liberty of representing it to him without avoiding numerous repetitions. He is diffuse and, notwithstanding the interest of his subject, feeble. They both agree that Poland must remain a republic and become consolidated into an aristocratical republic. They both wish to restrain the royal authority which appears to be too preponderating in Poland, and establish the election of Senators. They both pray for the enfranchisment of the humiliated people—at the same time they allege, as an excuse of any imperfection in their view, an insufficient knowledge of the country.

The republican of Geneva admiring the grandeur of the curious spectacle which presents itself to him of the reflection of old ideas on such a gigantic scale, admiring the

depth of thought of institutions adapted his theory of the social contract, he remarks a few imperfections in the details, and seeks to maintain and ameliorate these institutions, and to animate and inforce energy into their actions. The other finding a republic will not derogate from its existence; he however sees all the vices of its institutions, and is continually attacking its pernicious laws, customs, and prejudices. He discusses, combats, and traces by gradual and easy steps a plan of general amelioration. He shows transitory means, he invents plans which are to produce a radical metamorphosis, and saps the national basis in order to remodel and organize a representative mornarchy.

The writer, Mably, establishes an hereditary throne, wishes absolutely to divide the powers and to centralize the motion of the

machine. He abrogates the veto, abolishes the confederation, reduces to silence the anti-comitial Dietines, and seeks to dispel dissension, and to repress the passions. The republican philosopher, on the contrary, likes liberty, incompatible with rest. He maintains the election of chief of the state, he wishes to organize and strengthen the confederations, he seeks to utilize the veto, he is inclined to decentralize the administration, he neither fears what is called anarchy nor the result of passions to which he deems that useful direction may be given. The Abbe conceals a rigid morality under a very unassuming form, but he is inconstant and without fixedness in his political conceptions —bitter against political crimes he endeavours to silence the wicked without thinking of the consequent loss of that liberty which he so highly prizes. The philosopher, full of

vice and incontinence cherishes the human species, rejoices at its flexibility, admires its elevated sentiments, and leaves free scope to human passion, good and evil, thereby to ensure that liberty of which he is enamoured.

The Abbe, organizing the machine according to his own doctrine, desires to have good inns for travellers. a flourishing commerce, he investigates the diplomatic relations of the day, and arranges the external affairs. Rousseau dissuades from having strong places which are the nests of tyrants, is pleased with national rusticity and descends to the elements of primary education, morals, and the appreciations of the springs of civic action. The first speaks with coolness and reflective, the other with a warm and courageous heart; the first subjugates the man to the law, the second makes his virtue act.

Jean Jacques Rousseau advised only to correct, Mably to transform. Unfortunately Poland was too much disposed to this latter measure. The voice of the philosopher, the love of old institutions did not suffice any longer to calm the fear which caused, and nothing but the march of events since the fall of the confederation of Bar has better proved the assertion, "that the Poles will reject with indignation a law which in ten or twelve years they will receive with acclamations, if their prejudices are respected, if they are conducted with prudence, and encouraged not to fear, but rather seek the truth" (Mably † 10). After twenty years (1771-1791), the abuse of vain precept gaining possession of the minds of the creators of the constitution of the third of May, gained the upper hand and seduced the whole nation which abjured its belief

and vigour before the new forms which were to save the existence of the country. The two foreign writers who had been consulted on the subject were not living when the constitution of the 3rd of May was decreed. In more modern times (1787), Bentham went through Poland, and was flattered at being also consulted on the question of national legislation; I do not know what his advice was—or whether it was followed—whether he was satisfied with the results which the said constitution offered. Perhaps if he had lived the Abbè Mably might have approved its composition —perhaps he might have considered it a transitory model, useful to ulterior reforms; under this point of view at least this model found admirers and apologists. "Of all the constitutions established since fifty years, this is, with the exception of the North

American the oldest; faults would therefore be more excusable," said Reumer, professor of the university of Berlin in 1830, "than in those cases where a long experience have been afforded, more favourable circumstances, or where people were more advanced in civilization. What glory is it not therefore for the Poles to have been able to extricate themselves from the most unfavourable and horrible position, to the remedying which, the adoption of the most desperate means would have demanded our indulgence, to have known how to give itself a constitution in which, more than in any more recent essay, the true principles of reason and political science appeared to be realized, by reconciliating the past, present, and future."

The moderate men of that epoch rendered homage to that legislative work, the cele-

brated orator of Great Britain, Burke said, on this subject, "Humanity may rejoice and glorify itself when it considers the change which has taken place in Poland. Nothing is mean in it. This change is of so high a nature that it will prove the greatest and most noble boon ever granted to the human species. We have seen the throne strengthened by the love of the nation without offending liberty,"—and he proceeds to give his approbation in detail.

Fox called the constitution of the third of May a work which all the friends of rasonable liberty ought to regard with sincere attachment. The Prussian ex-minister Hertzerg in a treatise which he read to the Berlin academy the sixth of October, 1790, praises its wisdom. Volney in his Ruins felicitates, with good faith Poland, with being the only eastern country which on the thirty-first of

May escaped from the reproaches consequent on the incorrigible oppression under which the peasantry groan. The merits of this constitution were of less importance in the eyes of other observers. Thomas Payne, considering the Polish constitution as an insignificant act, admits that the Polish government and citizens wished to give an example of reform made of themselves by themselves. Other orators and writers, whose sweeping ideas demanded a radical transformation of the social state, were violently incensed against the Polish legislation. Those of France in particular, then shaking the whole fabric of society, and operating in their own country that enormous change, the result, nor ulterior consequences, of which they could neither calculate nor foresee, severely reproved this movement of moderation and concession. A member of the convention,

Garrande Coulon, Recherches Politiques, son la Pol. v. 14. saw only, in 1793, in Mably's work on the government of Poland, miserable projects of repairing an edifice, defective in its foundations, which will certainly cover with its ruins the short-sighted architects who shall undertake to repair it. After all he says the system of the Abbè Mably was not better calculated for the nobles themselves than for the Polish people, and what he says of Mably's work relates to the constitution of 1791, which has principally adopted these bases. This diversity of opinion depended on the views taken of the constitution by these writers, and it may be remarked that they formed their judgment according as they sought the completeness in the rude and sudden amelioration of the social state of the whole population, or the best mode of reforma-

tion. None of them have considered the principles they were about to establish relatively to those they were about to abrogate, certainly the constitution of 1791, relatively to the social state, presents only narrow issues, distant expectations, and vague promises ; on other subjects it is more explicit and well merits closer examination.

Macintosh admired the quiet and majestic reform of the government. In fact it is almost impossible to find anything similar in the annals of the world. This grave, and long-matured step in which the whole nation participated with a unanimity and conviction proof against everything—this dexterity of the framers of the constitution in directing the national conscience are assuredly so imposingly extraordinary, that it is impossible not to be astonished—not to bow one's own conceptions before this major

force which directs toward a common end the whole nation, its Diet, Dietines, writers, legislators, and all its classes. A more rigorous investigation indeed may perhaps serve to shew us that this general assent of the nation is derived rather from resignation. One is, however, moved at the sight of so many sacrifices, so much grandeur, and disposed to excuse and pity the errors into which they fell.

It is always with a feeling of pain that I contemplate this deviation from the ancient principle which the nation and the representatives sanctioned by their supreme will. For it is a fact that the republic was metamorphosed into a mornarchy, they made the republican institutions subordinate to dynastic dominations. "An hereditary throne and liberty for the nation are incompatibilities," cried the philosopher in warn-

ing the Poles of their danger. Many arguments were, however, exhausted at this epoch, many sophisms circulated to sap the foundations of this high maxim. The dangers of disturbances, and of foreign influence at the elections was the argument which to the reason of the nation appealed most forcibly; as if the annals of the world of all periods did not offer a picture of greater calamities, and disorders of longer duration, on the occasion of dynastic quarrels which are perpetuated from generation to generation.

END OF VOL. I.

REVELATIONS

OF

AUSTRIA.

BY

M. KOUBRAKIEWICZ,

EX-AUSTRIAN FUNCTIONARY.

EDITED BY THE AUTHOR OF

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REVELATIONS

OF

AUSTRIA.

CHAPTER VI.

AUSTRIAN RELIGION.

THE introduction of Catholicism into the Sclavonic countries is confounded with the establishment of German oppression, to which Catholicism has only served, and serves but as a pretext and instrument.

As the Sclavonic provinces, of Moravia, Bohemia, Silesia, Pannonia, Hungary, Croatia, Pomerania, Prussia, the Duchy of Posen, Masovia, Red Russia, Poland, &c., &c., began to embrace Catholicism, they happened to fall, as if it were a necessary consequence thereof, straight into the clutches of the Germans. The power of Poland was never preponderating, never dangerous to the liberties or independence of other states, but it was in the interest of the Kaisers to make it appear too powerful at the courts of France and England, to render these, through the dread of a common danger, more indifferent to the fate of Poland, or even more favourable to the meditated project of dismemberment.

The Kaisers were powerfully seconded in their project by the Roman Pontiffs, who excited the Poles to war against the Turks

and Russians, and by the Jesuits who organised civil war.

It was they who founded the institute of the Jesuits in 1540, and introduced it into Poland through the intermedium of the *soi disant* Polish Cardinal, named Hozius, of Italian or German origin.

The Jesuits first took root in Poland by taking into their hands the education of youth, by inducing people to make them presents, and leave them landed property, capital and lordships—always for the salvation of the soul—and then began their work.

After the union with Lithuania, Poland counted more than three fourths of its inhabitants who professed the orthodox faith. It was these orthodox Poles, called Ruthenians, that the Jesuits, according to the order received, forced to acknowledge the supre-

macy of a Roman Pope, a foreign sovereign and a despot.

The Szlachta militia and nobility then governed Poland, at least apparently; but these governors were influenced by their wives, who were influenced by the Jesuits, and the Jesuits received their orders from the Pope.

The Pope was governed then, as he is now, (at least as far as Poland is concerned) by the Kaiser. During this period the Polish throne was occupied by a Swedish Prince, Sigismund, and an Austrian Archduchess, his wife. What schemes were devised by the Kaisers to oppress unfortunate Poland! Jesuits without country, vagabonds from all countries, a German Hozius, a self-styled Polish Cardinal, a Swedish Prince, nominally called King of Poland, a German Archduchess—*soi disant* Queen of Poland!

The most barbarous and cruel persecutions

were then instituted against the orthodox Ruthenians, the most virtuous and religious christians amongst the Sclavonian nations.

In order to induce the orthodox Ruthenians to apostatise, the Jesuits, as we have already said, called this Christian faith the religion of the mob, because its service is rendered in the Sclavonic language, which every body understands, and that its priests marry like the people and do not keep mistresses.

The Bishops and orthodox priests, who would not abandon the religion of their ancestors, who wished to obey the Polish republic and not a Roman despot, were dismissed and persecuted.

The Hetmans of Kossacks, Kosinski, Feodor, Naleywako, and Pawluk, Colonel Loboda and other officers and deputies of

the Cossacks, invited and drawn to Warsaw, under the pretext of hearing and settling the religious differences, were traitorously seized, walled up alive or assassinated.

The Hetman Pawluk and other Cossack officers were first flayed alive, and it was only after this operation that they were decapitated.

To the greater glory of God these heads were sent into the Ruthenian provinces, were they were impaled and exhibited in several towns.

The Cossacks and all the Ruthenians of Lithuania, Volhymnia, Podolia and the Ukraine, who before the union with Poland were free, and who neither knew tithes nor forced labour, were subjectedby the Jesuitised Poles, to this humiliating servitude, which until then only degraded the Polish Catholic peasantry.

The Jesuits even made use of the Jews to ppress the Christians.

The orthodox Christian churches were armed to the Jews, who had a right to hut, and only open them on payment f a heavy tax, which they exacted from hose Christians, who only wished to have ıass said, to celebrate their worship and ıray to the Christian God in the language of heir fathers. The orthodox Poles were orbidden the entry of all the towns. In ırder to distinguish the orthodox Poles, vho would neither abjure the faith of their ıncestors, nor acknowledge the Pope's su- ıremacy, from those who acknowledged ;he Pope's or rather the Kaiser's sover- ;ignty without changing their faith, the .atter were compelled to wear suspended from their neck, tin plates.

The evangelical Poles, flying persecution, left their country and sought the protection of the evangelical King of Sweden.

By means of promises of tithes, privileges, and pensions, a portion of the orthodox clergy was thus corrupted, which, either willingly or compulsorily, signed, in 1595, the act of submission to the authority of the Pope, or sovereignty of the Kaiser; but the final result of these barbarous persecutions was the merited contempt of the Polish republic by all well-meaning men in Europe.

The hatred and defection of the Ruthenians and Cossacks, who preferred placing themselves under the equivocal protection of Russia—the interference of foreign courts in the internal affairs of Poland, and lastly, anarchy and the dismemberment of ancient

Poland, to the exclusive profit of the Germans —this is the situation to which the Jesuits have brought us: these are the consequences of our credulity, of our want of consideration in religious affairs, and of the fanaticism which has blinded us—*In quo discordia cives perduxit miseros.* (VIRGIL).

It is an instructive lesson for the people whose Jesuitised clergy voluntarily submit to the absolute Roman, foreign and anti-national monarch, and which declares itself independent of the indigenous, national, constitutional government. In order to finish with the Jesuits, and bring forward the last proof of these dependants of Habsburg, I will add that they were hostile to the Popes and to the liberal sovereigns, whom they called tyrants, but were never seriously opposed to the Kaisers.

The Jesuits leave in peace the non-Romanist Germans in Poland and Germany and attack Switzerland and France, to the advantage of their occult master, the Kaiser.

Every year the Austrian government selects the most docile and obedient amongst the pupils of the second year of philosophy who are aspiring to the ecclesiastical state, and sends them to Vienna to study hierology, called theology.

They are then moulded and metamorphosed into good Austrian servants, and enlightened as to the real sources and foundations of all religions and revelations. It is from amongst these ecclesiastics that Austria exclusively choses her professors of theology, gymnastics, and the faculties; her missionaries, canons, and more particularly bishops and archbishops.

Thanks to this system the Austrian pre-

lates and priests are generally convinced that all their spiritual authority rests on the absolute temporal authority of the Kaiser.

After the invasion of Poland by the Austrians the Polish priests wished to remain independent as they were at the time of the Polish republic.

The agents of the philosophic Kaiser, Joseph II., asked them if they did not require the protection of the temporal government in their spiritual functions.

"No," replied the priests boldly.

The Germans then applied themselves to teaching and proving to the people, that original sin, auricular confession, absolution, transubstantiation, benedictions, masses, miracles, revelations, etc., etc., were only a kind of jugglery instituted to deceive the people for the purpose of living at its ex-

pense, and that the priests were only cheats and hypocrites.

At Vienna the Germans did not even uncover themselves at the solemn entry of the Holy Father into that capital of the aristocratic world.

They answered the women who called upon them to uncover themselves and receive the Pope's blessing which he was distributing right and left—

Ist des papstes segen gut---so dringt er auch durch den hut. The literal translation of which is, "if the Pope's blessing is good it will penetrate equally through our hats. In short the Germans worked so well, that faith in the priests and veneration for the sacred character began to be shaken, and the latter saw themselves forced to submit, without conditions, to the temporal power in

order as they said to save God from these calumnies.

The King of Prussia, who endeavours to force the Poles to become Evangelicals or German Catholics, plays actually at Posen the same part as the Kaiser Joseph played. If the Polish priests desire to save Polish nationality, their religion must be an intellectual force, which it will only become when it has for its basis philosophical principles. Otherwise humanity and Poland will remain indifferent to struggles between Roman Catholic and German Catholic priests.

The liberty of the press, which has its inappreciable advantages, is also liable to abuses and certainly the priests are not the last to pervert it.

"The Guide of the Young Communicant," a work printed in 1840, composed by the

Abbé Bataille, canon of Bordeaux, dedicated to Cardinal Cheverus and approved by this Cardinal and by the Archbishops of Bordeaux and Tours, contains amongst other things, for the instruction of youth, the following stories, page 154—*great miracle relating to the Eucharist.*

" A Jew named Jonathan, living at Paris, Rue des Billettes, had pledged to him some clothes belonging to a poor woman. On Easter Sunday he offered to return them to her in order that she might appear more decently at church, on condition that she should deliver to him the consecrated Host which she was to receive at communion. She accordingly brought it to the Jew who forthwith proceeded to exercise all his malice against the blessed Host. He pierced it with a pen-knife, the blood flowed and rekindled his rage; he then hammered

nails through it, the blood flowed again, he then threw it into the fire, but it issued entire and appeared to invade him.

"He tried to cut it to pieces but could not succeed.

"He stuck it up in an infectious place and struck it with a lance, to renew as much as possible the crime of his fathers, when lo! a fresh stream of blood issued from it.

"At last the Jew plunged the Host into a cauldron of boiling water, whereupon the water immediately appeared bloody, and the Host rising up took the form of a crucifix.

"This last miracle so astonished the unfortunate Jew that he retired in confusion.

"His son, however, having gone out and said to some other children, whom he saw going to church, that it was in vain that they went to pray to their God, as his father

had killed him; a woman passing was struck by the child's remark, entered the house and discovered the vestiges of the Jew's horrible brutality.

"The Host came of its own accord and placed itself in a small vessel which she held in her hand. This christian woman carried it to the church of Saint Jean en Grève and delivered it to the Curé.

The Bishop of Paris, informed of what had happened, ordered the criminal to be seized, who confessed his crime, and refusing to be converted, was delivered over to the strong arm of the secular law, condemned to be burnt and duly executed.

"The wife and children of the Jew became converted and were baptised."

"Again; a young man who lived in habits of criminality, did not reveal all his sins at confession, and had the audacity to present

himself at the holy table to receive the adorable body of Jesus Christ; hardly had he received the communion than he was possessed by a devil, who did not cease to torment him every day in a horrible manner. The Bishop having assured himself that the man was really possessed, charged a missionary to exorcise this demoniac. The missonary, wishing to show those that were present that this man was really possessed, commanded the demon to lift him up and keep him suspended to the vault. He then ordered him to render unto him the body. The demon obeyed, and threw it to the ground without hurting it.

"Answer me," said the missionary unto him, "why hast thou taken possession of the body of this christian?" the demon answered, "I had a right to him, he must be mine, he has made a bad communion."

This young man was freed by the prayers which the missionary offered up, etc., etc."

The Austrian government would never allow similar holy anecdotes to be published unless they were offered as an example of the superstition, of the people and corruption of the priests, who endeavour by these Gascon miracles to persuade the people that they really have the power of changing bread into a living God and of commanding devils. Excepting the miracles of which the gospel and holy fathers of the church speak, and which are believed to be revealed and necessary to the existence of religion, all posterior miracles are severely forbidden in Austria.

The authors, editors, printers, and disseminators of miracles having for object the exciting hatred of Catholics against Jews, or of debauching the imagination and intelli-

gence of children, to the advantage of the parents, are punished in Austria by the *Carcer Durus*, or *Durissimus*.

The priests, whose profession is based on falsehoods, are first alarmed and cry martyrdom every time that the liberty of the press is advocated for the masses, or that of the instruction of youth by honest professors, and learned men, who are fathers of families, friends of legitimate propagation of the human species, enemies of illegitimate commerce, and of those propensities which stultify the intellect, fanaticise the mind, and brutalize the heart.

The sacred laws of nature are not to be violated with impunity.

The high and sonorous voice of the Almighty is not to be smothered by a vow or criminal oath; reason, that celestial source of all religion, is not to be treated

with contempt without self degradation, and debasement of the human intellect.

There are those who pretend that the Popes, Kaisers, and Kings only introduced celibacy for the priests in the Fourteenth Century in order to stupify, fanaticise, and brutalize them by generating secret vices; and that the use of wine in the sacrifice of the mass was only introduced from Southern countries in order to facilitate the exportation of their wine, to make commerce prosper, and to banish sobriety.

CHAPTER VII.

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION.

1. CIVIL JUSTICE.

As relates to civil justice, the Austrian subjects are divided into three distinct classes; nobles, burghers and peasants; each of these three classes has its particular tribunal.

When the defendant is noble the case

must be carried before the tribunal called *Forum Nobilicim.*

There are in Gallicia three courts for the nobles ; at Leopol, Tarnow, and Stanislaw ; about fifty or sixty leagues distant from each other.

They are each composed of a president, vice president, from five to eleven judges, and a certain number of subaltern officials to copy and expedite the business as well as to preserve and enregister the documents.

These judges have the title of Royal and Kaiserial councillors, and are paid, as well as all the subordinate employés, by the Kaiser.

It is also the same noble's courts which judge exchequer causes, those of the clergy and parishes. Causes which concern the revenue can only be judged in the presence

of a Gubernial councillor, who has a right to influence the judges and stay the judgment if it were prejudicial to the treasury.

To judge causes arising between Burghers there is in every town a court called magistracy. The magistracy of Leopol is composed of a Burgomaster as president, of a vice-Burgomaster, and from nine to thirteen judges called councillors of the magistracy, and of a number of subaltern employés. All the other magistracies of the Gallician towns are composed of a single Burgomaster who judges, subject to appeal, the causes of the citizens.

In some of the larger and richer towns there is besides, for the distribution of justice, a syndic and one or more assistants. The magistrates are, at the same time, charged with the political administration of the town and with the levying all kinds of taxes.

All the civic employés (Stadtische) are paid by the town; but the town has not the right of electing its officers. It is the courts of the circles and Gubernium who grant their diplomas of qualification and who appoint them, the town having only to pay their salaries.

The causes of the peasants are judged by dominical jurisdiction, that is to say, by the lord himself, or by his employés, called justiciaries or mandataries.

These seignorial employés are hired and paid by the lords, but the Gubernium makes them undergo an examination, and grants them certificates of qualification.

The appeal from the judgment of these three courts is carried before the court of appeal sitting at Leopol, and which determines the affairs of all classes of subjects of the Polish provinces. When the judgments

of the court appealed from, and that to which the appeal is made, are not in conformity, it is then allowable to resort to the supreme tribunal sitting at Vienna, which is the last court of appeal: the treasury alone has the right of resorting to the supreme tribunal at Vienna even when the decisions of both courts agree. There is only one court of appeal for each province, and there is only one supreme tribunal for all the hereditary provinces. There are no *juges de paix* in Austria, every complaint, request, or defence must be carried before a Manorial court, written in Latin or German and signed by a lawyer. The Polish is expressly forbidden.

The first step which the plaintiff makes is called *actio*; in this *actio* the plaintiff must set forth his demands and allege his proofs.

The judge having received this *actio*, communicates it to the defendant, through the

intermedium of a servant of the tribunal, (Gerichtsdiener,) indorsed with an injunction to return an answer to the tribunal within fourteen or thirty days.

This answer, which is called *exceptio*, is communicated to the plaintiff in order that he may give his rejoinder, which is communicated to the defendant that he may make his duplicate (duplica) and conjointly a catalogue of the acts and documents alleged; sign, and deliver them to the court.

The president of the tribunal having taken cognizance of the case confides it to a judge, in order that he may make his report to a judicial session.

The session which judges a cause is composed of at least three judges, including the president and recorder.

The judgment is written, and copies are delivered on stamped paper to the plaintiff

and defendant. The party desiring to appeal from the decision of a court must forward his intentions to the tribunal, which communicates it to his adversary, in order that he may provide his answer.

The court then dispatches all the documents, together with its report, to the court of appeal, always within fourteen days; it is allowable for the parties to ask for delays of from two to four months, and sometimes for two, three, and four years, by which means a simple action for the recovery of money before it is finally decided, lasts at least two years; occasionally, even when it is a question of a considerable sum, when the defendant proffers the judge a becoming present, and that the plaintiff will not give any, or even refuses to pay more than his adversary, the affair often lasts five, ten,

fifteen years; and even longer when the plaintiff is poor and the defendant wealthy.

After the exhibition of the duplicate the judge communicates it to the plaintiff, and invites the two parties to present themselves before the tribunal on the day fixed: the two advocates then appear. The same course is followed in appealing to the supreme tribunal. The judgment, called sentence, is delivered in Latin or German, and contains only the condemnation or acquittal of the defendant. The reasons or motives are never given, but it is allowable for the parties to ask them of the tribunal.

There are no public or open sittings.

The parties are not to know either legally or officially the name of the judge, but they always do ascertain it, because the judge has his Jew, called factor, who presents him-

self to the parties or their lawyers, and secretly informs them that their case is in the hands of such a one. Then the parties think over the means of gaining their cause, as it is forbidden both sides under criminal penalties to attempt to corrupt the judges, who nevertheless get paid by both, and are sure not to be betrayed: Firstly, because the corrupting party, who should first inform, would be condemned to *Carcerem durum*, or *durissimum*; and secondly, because the deposition of a Jew against a Catholic judge would prove nothing in an Austrian court of justice.

The same proceedings take place in the municipal or magisterial tribunals, and in the seignorial jurisdictions, with the exception that it is allowed the parties to present themselves personally before the judge, and

remit or dictate to him their complaint or defence. There are therefore only lawyers in the three towns in which the noble courts hold their sittings.

All lawyers, without exception, are doctors of law, but they do not form a body.

The civil code of 1811, compulsory for all the hereditary states, excepting Hungary, is modelled on the code Napoleon. Whole articles from it are copied word for word.

The system followed however in the Austrian code is more logical and lucid than in the French code.

The Austrian code is divided into three divisions ; the first exposes the rights of individuals, *jura personarum* ; the second, personal rights, *personalia* ; the third exposes real rights, *jura rerum realia.*

Majority is fixed at the completion of twenty four years of age.

The marriage contract to be valid must be

drawn up before the clergyman of the parish, and in the presence of two witnesses.

The law does not require that the contract should be concluded at church.

Persons leaving one or more illegitimate children can only dispose of one half their property by will.

The other half must be left free to their legitimate offspring.

Women, legally of age, may dispose of their property in the same manner as men, whether to living persons or by testamentary disposition.

The married people have reciprocally a right of succession to one quarter of the usufruct when the deceased leaves three children, or less, and to the same portion as the children when there are four or more.

Divorce is not permitted when either of

the married parties profess the Catholic religion, but is allowed to Protestants and Jews.

In case of a difference of religion between the married couple, the sons follow the religion of their father, and the girls that of their mother.

Marriages between Catholics and Jews, or Mahomedans, are forbidden as crimes.

Excepting the marriage contract, all other contracts and agreements are made without the intervention of the public authorities.

There are no notaries in Austria. For inscribing titles to property, and mortgages on villages, burghs, and towns belonging to individuals, there is only one single office in Gallicia; this office, which is called *Tabula provincialia*, is established at Leopol, the chief town of Gallicia, of which it executes the decisions.

The registering a title to property or a mortgage is called *Intabulatio;* the striking out a mortgage is called *extabulatio.*

In order to register the mortgages on houses in large towns, there is in each town an office called *tabula civica,* which only registers according to the magistrates' decision.

The small towns, villages, and burghs have no registrars of property or mortgage.

PENAL JUSTICE.—The Penal Code of 1803, compulsory for all the Austrian States, excepting Hungary, is divided into two parts: the first part treats of crimes, the second of serious police transgressions, *Schwere polizei übertretungen.*

The punishment of death is awarded for several crimes, and is practised by the gallows.

The punishment of imprisonment is di-

vided into three degrees, namely, *carcer*, *carcer durus*, *carcer durissimus*. Those condemned to the third degree are subject to corporeal punishment, which is executed with a cane, called stock, for men, and with a rod for women. This punishment is administered once or twice a week on the naked back during the whole period of imprisonment, or until death. Generally the persons condemned to this kind of punishment die after a few months suffering.

The persons condemned for political offences are sent to Spielberg or Kufstein, where they are condemned to forced labour under ground.

The victims who groan in the dungeons of Spielberg or Kufstein are more to be pitied than the Siberian exiles.

All persons having any knowledge of political crimes against the safety of the state,

that is to say of the Kaiser, are obliged, under penalty of being accused of complicity, to denounce them to the government. This law obliges children to denounce their parents, and parents their children.

Penal procedure is very expeditious in Austria. The process of investigation is called inquisition.

This inquisition is made by a copyist and a judge who dictates to the former the interrogatories put to the accused, and his answers: the inquisitor exercises here the functions of accuser, defender, and judge of the accused.

After the complete inquisition and instruction of the case the judge-inquisitor makes his report in session, composed of three, five, or seven judges, and the accused is either condemned, acquitted, or liberated for want of legitimate proof: the judgment

is thereupon read to the accused and executed if he declare himself satisfied, or sent to the court of appeal for approbation if he desire it. All intervention of a third party, all communication with a lawyer or with the father, mother, or child of the accused, is severely forbidden.

Excepting the accused and the judges no one is allowed either to know the answers of the accused, the depositions of the witnesses, or the motives of judgment.

All is done with the greatest secrecy.

For the inquiry into, and judgment of political offences in Gallicia, the Kaiser nominates, and sends to Leopol, a commission, composed of three thorough-bred, faithful Germans, from Vienna.

This commission proceeds, and judges according to the instructions and secret

orders it receives and according to the penal code.

Torture is abolished, but the judge is authorised to administer to the accused, during the enquiry, blows of the stock, and every time that the accused refuses to answer, and that he does not answer the question clearly and in a direct manner, or that he denies having committed the crime without being able to do away with the suspicion or semi-proof which the inquisitor considers to exist against him. More than twenty-five blows of the stock may not be administered at one time.

This mode of extorting a sincere confession from the accused, is applied in the enquiries of all crimes and serious police trangressions, and against all persons without distinction of birth, station, age, or sex.

All the Austrian nobility, M. Metternich

and Rothschild included, all bishops and priests, all general and military officers, all Austrian ambassadors, (Count Appony as a Hungarian excepted,) are subject, they, their children and their wives to the punishment of the stock or rod.

All Austrian subjects are equal before the law of the stock.

It is this law, this feeling of being subject to the punishment of the stock or rod, which deprives the Austrian of his man-like dignity, which renders him servile to the strong and insolent towards the poor and weak.

In 1135 some Polish Catholic priests were suspected of conspiring in favor of Polish nationality aud of exciting their parishioners to love of their country. M. Mierzwinski, a Roman Catholic priest and canon, also Gubernial councillor for ecclesiastical affairs, cited these patriotic priests

before his tribunal and to extort the confession, which he wished to obtain, and which was to render him worthy of the confidence of his Kaiser, he administered to them blows of the stock.

The Austrian police often makes use of the Poles as spies upon the Poles.

Police informers were then initiated into the secrets of the police so that they may be more advantageously set upon the traces of the crime of love of country or humanity; but at the same time the Austrian police is prudent and suspicious, it is also observed that those individuals, who are confidential agents of the police, after having fulfilled their service, generally die suddenly of some accident which is called, in Gallicia. *Austrian accident.*

The traitor Mierzwinski was found dead in his rooms. The police spread the report

that he had poisoned himself; the public said, on the contrary, that he had repented of what he had done, that the Austrian government was afraid of the consequences of his repentance and the betrayal of the secrets of the police, of which he was the depository, and therefore caused him to be imprisoned.

This miserable deacon was my chief, during two months in 1822, in the office of ecclesiastical affairs.

The Austrian government is partial to Polish, Hungarian, Italian, or Bohemian traitors, but it only confides in the thoroughbred Austrian Germans.

Many persons, whom the police suspects of patriotism or humanity without there being any proof, die suddenly either in their domicile, or in prison during the inquisition. The professor Huttner a German (not Aus-

rian) a distinguished divine, a friend of humanity and of oppressed Poland was suspected of liberatism.

The Baron Krieg, vice-president of the Gubernium, entered his apartments, seized all his papers, and some hours after Mr. Huttner was found dead, having perished by poison.

It has been observed that all the persons who show firmness of character during the inquisition, or any rooted principle, are never liberated, they always fall victims of an *Austrian accident*, either during the inquisition, or, after the condemnation, or die before the expiration of the punishment to which they have been condemned—such persons are too dangerous for the Austrian system.

There is attached to each circle a commissary of the circle especially charged with

the secret police, and he is in immediate correspondence, touching this office with the directors of police.

The circle and police magistrates have the right of administering blows of the stock to all servants, workmen, burghers, or peasants who have no real property, without any written inquest or judgment.

All the police and magisterial soldiers, all the lands-dragoons of the circles carry, to effect this object, canes attached to their cross belts.

There are no gendarmes in Austria; in their stead they have Lands-dragoons.

It is remarked that in Austria, and in all absolute governments there are fewer suicides than in England, France or any other free state.

The reason is, that one likes and prizes a thing much more, the greater the trouble

and precautions necessary in acquiring and preserving it — the slaves believe that life must be a very valuable gift, since so much trouble and precaution is required to save it from the police; and since their master looks upon the right of taking their lives, and beating them, as constituting a degree of power, dignity, and consequent felicity, which they could on no consideration be induced to forego.

CHAPTER VIII.

PUBLIC FUNCTIONARIES.

FUNCTIONARIES and public agents are divided into three very distinct classes.

Firstly, they are paid out of the Kaiser's treasury.

They hold the first rank, and have a right to add to their rank the epithet of Kaiserial, Royal, (Royal, Kaiserial Commis-

sary). Secondly, the Urban, or civic functionaries, who are paid from the town treasury. And Thirdly, the Dominical functionaries, who are hired and paid by the Lords.

The Kaiserial functionaries, are either appointed by the Kaiser himself, or by the Royal Kaiserial administration.

Both have fixed salaries and retiring pensions.

The Dominical functionaries are examined and furnished with certificates of qualification by the Gubernium, or Court of Appeal, but they have no fixed salaries or retiring pensions.

In Russia, functions and rank are granted to German foreigners in preference to natives; to obtain a situation, or become an officer in the army, a Russian by birth and origin

must prove that he is noble. The Germans are exempt from this.

It is the contrary in Austria. In order to obtain a situation as public functionary it is necessary for a candidate to prove, by certificates, that he is by birth an Austrian subject; has frequented all the classes of some public school in Austria; does not belong to any secret society; and will denounce to the government all that he believes will be hurtful and dangerous to it.

Those persons who have gone through their German classes and their studies in the houses of their parents, or in a school with private professors, are not admitted to public situations.

In general the Germans have the preference, and to them are exclusively entrusted the functions of Presidents, Directors, and Chiefs of offices.

With the exception of those who copy, and are called *Chancellerists*, the *Archivists*, and the functionaries of the treasury, all other situations about the courts, civil, or criminal, of the circles, Gubernium, and civic magistracies, can only be granted to persons who have gone through a course of law at one of the German-Austrian Universities.

All newly appointed functionaries are obliged to work gratuitously for three, four, or six years; and it is only at the expiration of this gratuitous service that they receive salaries of 200 or 300 florins a year; notwithstanding these exactions and the difficulties of all kinds that they experience at the university, there are a great number of jurisconsults who work gratuitously for from four to six years in order to gain a sallary of 300 florins annually.

The reason is that the arts, trades, and

industry in general are despised, that workmen and labourers and all those who occupy themselves with manual labour, are subject to blows of the stock at every hand's turn ; and that there are in Austrian Poland, neither manufacturers nor wholesale traders. Offices and rank are granted in the civil, military and spiritual armies without any attention to either nobility or obscurity of birth or fortune, the personal qualification of the candidates being only regarded.

The greater part of the high functionaries are of low origin, or of the poorest and lowest German nobility ; the public employés take oath not to reveal anything of what they may learn by virtue of their office.

This silence is so universal and rigorous that a copyist, an archivist, a secretary or councillor may not reveal anything of what

he copies, reads, or writes, to his colleagues in the same office.

The salaries of the principal functionaries are as follows.

The Governor of Gallicia receives yearly from the Kaiser, sixteen thousand florins, and four thousand florins from the Diet, in all twenty thousand florins. The three presidents of the noble-courts and of the court of appeal, each six thousand florins per annum. The ten councillors of Gubernium, the nineteen captains of circles, (prefects) and the nine councillors of the court of appeal, three thousand florins each.

The councillors of the three noble-courts each two thousand florins, and the Aulic councillors of the Gubernium four thousand florins.

There are sometimes two Aulic councillors in Gallicia.

The secretaries of the Gubernium, of the noble-court and courts of appeal, and the councillors of criminal courts, each twelve hundred florins yearly.

The commissaries of circles, cashiers and officers of the treasury and public accounts, (Buchhaltung) each from eight hundred to one thousand florins.

The copyists, archivists, *concipists*, (editors) burgomasters, have yearly from two hundred to six hundred florins.

A florin is worth about two shillings.

The imperial and civic functionaries, who have a right to a retiring pension, are obliged to serve without interruption as long as their health allows.

If after ten years they are capable of continuing in the service, they have a

right to a third, after twenty-five years they are entitled to half, and after forty years to the whole of their previous salary. If they become incapable in the course of the fortieth year of their service they are granted three fourths of their salary.

Two salaried situations are incompatible. The functionary who should be called upon to fill another, would only receive salary from the highest paid.

At the death of a functionary his widow, having proved that she possesses no fortune, has a right to a quarter, and the legitimate children, without distinction as to number, a fourth part of their father's last salary.

The children only enjoy this pension when boys, up to the age of fourteen, and when girls till fifteen years of age. The

widow as long as she remains a widow and resides in Austria.

The granting of pensions to widows and children only applies to functionaries whose salary does not exceed two thousand florins yearly.

It is forbidden the imperial and civic functionaries, or their wives, to carry on any lucrative trade or business.

This has lately been modified with respect to women. Venality and corruption prevail to the highest degree amongst the imperial and civic functionaries. Metternich himself was in the pay of the Czar Alexander, who paid him, it is said, a million roubles annually.

This pension ceased on the death of Alexander in 1825.

It is forbidden the public functionaries to receive money or presents for fulfilling

or exercising their functions, but this law is illusory because it is forbidden individuals, under criminal penalties, and condemnation to *carcere duro*, to corrupt government functionaries.

The individual who should accuse the functionary of having drawn money from him would be the first condemned to ten years *carcere duro*. The functionary, if he were sufficiently simple to confess his crime, would be dismissed from his situation. But woe to the individual who should accuse a functionary without having sufficient proofs to support his accusation.

His property would be confiscated, and himself, with all his family, ruined.

A blind obedience is required to the commands of a public officer, and it is only after having executed his orders that any right exists to complain to his superiors.

A functionary can never be accused before a court or criminal tribunal respecting any exercise of his functions.

The complaint must be made to his superior.

Councillors and German Barons may be seen who have only their salary; or Burgomasters who have only 400 or 500 florins a year—who entered office in rags, and barefooted, or who have come to Poland, from the interior of Germany, on foot, dragging their children, baggage, and potatoes in a wheelbarrow — become rich, at the expiration of ten or fifteen years of their office, keeping lacqueys and equipages and owning villages.

The Austrian functionaries allow themselves to be corrupted with greater facility than even the Russian functionaries. There exists indeed this difference between them,

that the Russian functionary allows himself to be bribed to the prejudice of his Czar, but having received the bribe, keeps his promise, fearing the accusation; whereas the Austrian functionary, takes anything or from any body, indeed bargains with the parties interested to bribe him, and does not keep his word.

He always does what the interest of his Kaiser requires and only acts against the befehl to the injury of individuals.

The reason is, because the Austrian functionaries are protected in all their rogueries against individuals, and are severely punished for any fault which may injure the Kaisers. The administration and control of the Kaiserial revenue are so well organized that it is impossible to cheat the Kaiser out of one single farthing, without its being discovered.

In order, however to palliate his avarice, the Kaiser spreads the report that the functionaries reckon farthings and rob millions.

In general the functionaries are chosen from the poorer classes, because these being drawn from obscurity, and elevated to the dignity of salaried functionaries, are more grateful, submissive, and less independent than the rich.

They are proportionately more attached to the existence of government, as their own existence depends upon it.

Nearly all the presidents, Aulic councillors, etc., etc., are of the lowest class of citizens, or nobles, and only live on their salary.

These functionaries hate the rich, despise the poor, and have neither pity for one nor the other.

This is what is required by an administration of plunder and rapine.

It is from this said motive that the Austrian functionaries are forbidden to exercise any lucrative profession or trade. In Austria there is no Aristocracy that can properly be so called. At present it is Metternich, Schwarzenberg, Lichtenstein and a few others, who are the Kaiser's principal instruments, but at their death their children may be nothing more than beggars.

The Kaisers never grant the powerful amongst the natives, high situations, always fearing another Wallenstein. The Grand Vizier of the empire is always drawn from a poor and obscure German family.

The present Grand Chancellor is a German of Westphalia, named Ochsenhausen.

The Kaiser Francis created him Prince Metternich and the mercenary German

papers publish everywhere that Metternich is of an ancient princely family.

The governors of provinces are generally poor nobles possessing no landed or real property in the country. The German Barons, drawn from a state of mendicity, willingly lend themselves to the plunder of the middling classes by the government.

They cannot bear that a citizen, a simple Polish gentleman, should be better lodged, dressed, or live better than they. Baron Kreig, ci-devant Aulic councillor, and actually vice-governor of Gallicia, perceived, when walking in the neighbourhood of Leopol, in a fine garden, a handsome country house, the open windows of which allowed the furniture within to be seen.

He asked who was the proprietor, and learnt, to his great astonishment, that it belonged to a baker of Leopol.

"What!" he exclaimed one day at the Gubernium sitting, when I was present, "people complain of the heaviness of the taxes, and I have seen a baker better lodged than I, Baron of the German Empire, and Royal Kaiseral Aulic councillor." The tax on the baker's patent was doubled and trebled, and he was ruined at the expiration of a short time.

The scarcity of money and the general misery of the people, enable a functionary with thirty-five pounds salary to be better lodged and fed, than a nobleman who has a village with five or six thousand acres of land, and fifty or sixty families of peasants subject to forced labour.

In order not to awaken the jealousy and hatred of the nobility and burghers against the paternal government, it is recommended

to the functionaries, by a written befehl, known only by themselves, not to live extravagantly, and above all not to keep carriages or horses. It is not, however, to be supposed that strangers who live in hotels can live cheaply, on the contrary everything is dearer than in France or England, because the proprietors of inns pay to the Kaiser as taxes for patents, etc., etc., more than sixty-five per cent.

Travellers are obliged to make a written compact on stamped paper as to prices, and present it to the Burgomaster.

The befehl which forbids extravagance to the functionaries is not applicable to the governor, generally called Satrap: he, on the contrary, displays much luxury in order to seduce and ruin the Polish noblemen. Prince Lobkowicz never drove out unless

preceded by two fat, German runners furnished with great sticks to make the passers-by uncover, and strike those who should not present themselves in respectful attitude.

CHAPTER IX.

THE Austrian army is recruited by conscription. To this effect Austrian Poland is divided into twelve districts. On the second of January every year a Military commission, composed of two subaltern officers and three or four corporals or soldiers, as writers, appears at the chief

town, burgh, or village of their district, and having invited to its assistance the clergyman of a place as well as the Burgomaster and the representative of the seignorial proprietor, it proceeds to the conscription.

The clergyman is obliged to carry with him the register of births, deaths, or marriages.

All male individuals from the age of seventeen and upwards are obliged to present themselves in person before the commission.

The father of the family must appear to declare the changes which have taken place in his family since the preceding year, the proprietor to give an account of his tenants. All individuals fitted for military service are designated in a column of the conscription-books.

The military commission also takes notice

in its books of the number of cattle possessed by each inhabitant.

The officer of the military district sends a copy of this census to the circle and makes a report to the commanding general at Leopol.

The circle again makes its report to the Gubernium which distributes the recruits by circles, and orders and fixes the night for seizing the recruits which is the same for the whole province.

The circles make the re-partition of the recruits by towns and villages, and orders the Burgomasters and dominical jurisdictions to commence on the night fixed by the Gubernium. All these orders are transmitted with the greatest secrecy.

The evening of the night fixed upon, the Burgomasters and Lords summon all the

police agents, spies, employés, Police soldiers and often soldiers of the regular army, and at midnight, when everybody is asleep, the recruiters, divided into several bands, disperse, surround the houses, and break open the doors, and if they are not directly opened, carry away the men discovered, tie them with cords and bear them off to prison.

The recruiters are furnished with sledge hammers to break open the doors, with bludgeons to strike their prey if it should make any resistance or attempt to defend itself. According to the befehl or command of 1828 only the men of from ten to thirty are subject to the military service in a time of peace. During a period of war men are drawn up to the age of fifty years. The victims are carried to the office of the circle, where a mixed commission, composed

of a commissary of the circle, two military officers and a doctor of the regiment, measure, examine and only select the finest, most robust and youngest. Notwithstanding that the number of recruits is fixed, the Burgomasters and Lords are obliged to present before the commission all married or unmarried men up to the age of 30 years, because the commission has a right to choose and they cannot know before hand how many will buy themselves out of the service, for it is permitted in time of peace to pay 300 florins (30£.) to the Kaiser, who alone has the right to find substitutes, which he does by impresing other young men who cannot pay the ransom money. The right of carrying off the recruits is truly a St. Bartholomew's night.

During days succeeding this night nothing

is heard in the houses, streets, and roads but the sobs and lamentations of mothers, fathers, wives, and children, who follow in cars the Imperial Sbriri who are leading away their children, husbands, and fathers. Their lamentations are not surprising—the conscripts are then carried into a foreign country, into Germany, Italy, or Hungary.

They are subjected to a barbarous discipline, and ill-treated by the German officers and corporals whose language they do not understand.

The German language is the language of military command, for the whole army composed of eleven-twelfths of Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Bohemians, etc., etc., and one-twelfth Germans.

It is during the levying recruits that the Austrian functionaries take advantage, on their own account, of the inhabitants who

cannot pay the Kaiser the ransom of three hundred florins.

The unfortunate wretches are drawn every year, from the age of eighteen up to thirty years, and each time these functionaries make them pay a certain sum. So that at the age of twenty-nine years they have paid, at different periods, more than twice three hundred florins, are ruined, and not being able to pay any longer, at the age of twenty-nine years they are carried away and delivered over to the military service.

It is also during the levying recruits that the authorities of the Circle, the Burgomaster, and lords exercise their acts of intimidation or vengeance upon the burghers or peasants.

The Lords and Burgomasters who cannot catch or furnish their contingents are punished by heavy fines—the nobles and

German colonists are exempted from forced military service through political motives.

The conscription is the most effectual mode of insensibly doing away with the Polish people and supplanting it by Germans.

Austrian Poland furnishes five times more soldiers than the Austriaco German provinces.

According to the Augsburg gazette of the month of May 1845, Austrian Poland furnishes 13,956 recruits in the year 1845. Whereas the German Provinces only furnish 5,898 men.

The German provinces have a population of more than seven millions, and the aboriginal population of Austrian Poland which alone furnishes recruits does not amount to more than three millions and a half, because the numerous German

colonists are exempted from military service, and the three hundred thousand German Israelites pay ransom or invade the service by voluntarily maiming themselves.

They pull out their front teeth, cut off their fingers, or lame their feet. It often happens that mothers maim their children shortly after their birth by twisting their arms or feet.

The duration of the military service was formerly for life, for the Hungarian regiments, and fifteen years for the Poles and others. Since 1845 the period is shortened to eight or ten years, but as the Austrian soldiers, called Landsknechts, have no knowledge of the fact, no right to complain against the government and as there are no independent journals, the government only dismisses the landsknechts, who are no longer fit for service and makes the others serve as long as it likes,

because, in Austria, law is the Emperor's will, and the officers or functionaries are the only legal interpreters of it.

The military punishments are, 1stly, blows with the stock upon the back; 2ndly, beating on the bare back; and 3rdly death.

The lieutenant has a right to administer to the soldier Landsknecht for the slightest insubordination, and without any sentence, twenty-five blows of the stock, or cane, given by a single corporal.

The captain has a right to administer thirty blows of the stock by two corporals, and in presence of the company.

The punishment takes place in the middle of a public place during market or fair time, and with a prescribed ceremony.

Firstly, the culprit carries the bench himself, places himself before the company,

and lays himself on this bench at the command of the officer.

Secondly, two corporals are ordered out of the ranks, and place themselves one to the right, and one to the left of the extended landsknecht.

They examine whether his thighs are covered with anything more than drawers, and proceed to execution. At the word of command, the corporal at the left of the criminal strikes the first blow, and one or two minutes after the corporal on the right, alternately; after each blow they wait at least a minute or two, in order that the culprit may have time to feel and suffer, and that the thighs may swell and bleed; the officers of the company superintend the execution, and cry, strike well. (hau zu) The execution lasts about three quarters of an hour.

After the twentieth blow strips of the drawers and thighs are often seen to fall. Formerly they struck on the cloth trowsers, that the soldiers wear, but the Kaiser Francis, called by the Germans the father of his country, (Landesvater), ordered them to strike on the drawers by way of "economising the trowsers, and that the blows should be better felt."

Public decency will not allow them to strike on the naked back.

The unfortunates generally put a piece of linen into their mouths, otherwise the convulsive motion of the jaws, and the grinding of the teeth, makes them bite their tongues and break their teeth.

The punishment once pronounced is never rescinded.

The Germans are cold and inexorable. If sometimes the criminal expires before the

last blow, they continue to strike the body until the number of blows prescribed are given.

The Austrian system exacts this severity.

After the execution the punished individual rises, drags himself to the commanding officer, bows himself to the ground, thanking him in these words : receive thanks, (habe dank) — he then takes the bench on his shoulders and carries it back. All punishments take place publicly to intimidate the people.

The Poles and Jews cannot bear these Germanic cruelties, they fly and avoid the hideous and painful sight, the Germans alone remain, and say—it is only a Polish swine that they are flogging (Polnishes schwein).

In the time of the Polish republic there were only two sorts of punishment ; namely, imprisonment and death. Flogging was re-

garded as infamous and dishonorable for the defenders of their country.

The Kaiser, on the contrary, looks upon and treats the military defenders of his treasures and his throne like mercenary sbirri and like brigands. At the commencement of the Austrian Invasion, the Polish conscripts to whom they were about to administer the bastinado revolted and threatened to turn their bayonets against the invaders. To calm and habituate them to this degrading mode of punishment, and to induce them by example to submit; they commenced by administering the blows of the stock to the soldiers of German birth and origin. At the command of the officer the German Landsknecht takes charge of the bench, lays down, suffers, rises, bows, thanks, (habe dank), and retires.

"There," said the Germans to the Poles, showing them the submissiveness of these heavy landsknechts to the punishment, "that is the high Austrian civilization, which consists in knowing how to obey the befehls of superiors."

The bastinade in the sequel pleased the Polish nobles very much, and since then they make use of it against the peasants, "to civilize them after the Austrian fashion." Desertion and other serious offences are punished by running the gauntlet. The soldier cendemned by a court martial to this punishment is stripped to the hips, and compelled to pass and repass ten, fifteen, twenty, or thirty times, through one or several Battalions of Infantry, ranged in two lines face to face; the space between the two lines is three or four paces broad. Each sol-

dier, furnished with a willow stick, strikes the culprit as he passes, with his whole might, on the bare back.

As a precautionary measure the soldiers are furnished with several sticks in case of their breaking. If the unfortunate faints and cannot any longer proceed, he is then laid on a bench, and the soldiers passing and repassing at the ordinary step strike him as he lies.

If he dies under the blows, which often happens, (as I personally witnessed in 1808 and 1809) they strike the body until the number of blows are completed.

After passing a few times the length of a battalion, composed of from eight hundred to a thousand men, the flesh of the back falls off in pieces and very often the entrails protrude through the lacerated sides.

During the execution, the colonel and

major, both on horseback, ride along the two lines betwixt which the criminal is passing, and cry aloud, "Strike well!" (hau zu). The soldiers who miss a blow or do not strike with all their strength, themselves receive the bastinade.

This punishment of running the gauntlet called in German, Spitzruthen, is particularly painful and dangerous to life in winter, with the temperament ten, fifteen, or twenty degrees below freezing point, because then the blood with which the sticks become covered coagulates on them and makes them hard and cutting as glass.

The Austrian government thinks itself peculiarly bound to apply barbarous and cruel punishment to the Hungarians and Poles, because desertion amongst them is more frequent.

Many of these unfortunates are married

and fathers of several children, without fortune or resources. The regimental chaplain and the Catholic and Acatholic priests in general teach the people and soldiers from the pulpit and confessional, that devotion to the Kaiser is the first and most sacred duty; that the Kaiser is and ought to be loved more than one's parents or country.

The priests say "look at the French nobles who do not hesitate to fight in our ranks or at the head of our Landsknechts against their country or countrymen to establish the throne of the King," but notwithstanding these exhortations, notwithstanding the seducing example of the French Royalist, and promises of Paradise after death, neither the people nor soldiery can understand in their virtuous Anti-Austrian and Anti-Catholic simplicity why they should expose to misery or death

their unprovided wives and children, and fly to the defence of a throne and treasure whose ruin neither menaces humanity, their country, nor the life of their dear Kaiser.

There are even moreover amongst the Poles and Hungarians some who contend that this throne and treasure, which religion calls upon them to defend, are the cause and source of all human calamities.

The punishment of death is executed by hangings for civil, and by shooting for military crimes. Three soldiers fire close and simultaneously at the breast and head.

Repeated desertion even in time of peace is punished by death.

The body is not interred directly after the execution, but it is left hanging to the gallows or stretched on the earth until sunset, in order that the public may contem-

plate it and be edified by the sight. A single soldier or sentinel is left to guard it.

In 1808 or 1809 I saw a Hungarian woman who came from the interior of Hungary with her three children, the eldest of whom might be six or seven years of age and the youngest still at the breast, four or five month sold. This unfortunate woman hoped by her presence to soften Austrian cruelty, excite the pity and obtain the pardon of her husband a deserter, but she was mistaken, he had been shot, she threw herself on the still warm body of her husband, filled the air with her cries, called him by his name. "Paul dear Paul!" shook the body and opened its mouth thinking to awaken and recal it to life.

Two or three hours after she expired, her lips glued or rather frozen to the mouth of her husband.

The child at the breast followed the fate of its mother.

On that day the snow fell in such abundance that the three bodies were quite covered towards two o'clock in the afternoon. Nobody dare assist the wife or children of the criminal—every one being afraid of drawing down the ire of the paternal government—"let justice be done," say the Austrians, "though the world perish."

The German population of the Austrian empire is as compared to the rest of the population as one to six, and the number of German to Sclavonian, Hungarian, or Italian officers, as six to two.

The Germanised Hungarians, Italians, and Poles surpass by far the Germans in baseness and cruelty. According to the Austrian system the German provinces fur-

nish corporals and officers, the other provinces soldiers.

The Hungarian regiments are quartered in Poland and Italy, the Polish regiments in Hungary and Italy, the Italian regiments in Hungary and Poland, the German officers and corporals are everywhere.

The Kaiser does not only make use of military force to defend his throne, his possessions, or to conquer fresh countries, but he trades with it, and lets out his armies to foreign powers.

Thus the Kaiser Maximilian lent an army to England in 1513, in consideration of 500 crowns a day.

The Kaiser Francis let his troops also to England, from 1793 to 1815 against France, in consideration of several millions sterling but the lease was made out in the form of an alliance and the mercenary troops of

Austria fought under the denomination of auxiliaries or their allies. From hiring out their troops the emperors derived a double profit. They firstly filled their coffers with the gold which they make the employers of their troops pay, and which they do not spend as they only disburse paper money which they furthermore reduce from time to time. Besides this they rid themselves of the surplus Hungarian, Italian and Sclavonian population. There are in Austrian Poland but few barracks. At Leopol there is only one with which the generous Kaiser has endowed the town by transforming an ancient convent into barracks which may contain about a thousand Infantry soldiers —at Wadowice a fresh one has been built which may contain a few squadrons of cavalry.

The soldiers are mostly quartered on the inhabitants who are obliged to give them a bed, salt, and fire; they are not

obliged (by a befehl) to feed them, but they do so to make them more tractable and less cruel.

The Austrian soldiers, without regard to the country to which they belong, call themselves children of the Kaiser, they look upon the Poles as conquered slaves, illtreating and robbing them with impunity. Agreeably to the existing befehls the complaint must be made to the corporal against the private, to the serjeant-major (or field-febel) against the corporal, before the lieutenant against the serjeant-major and so following; but as the army is a privileged body, those that complain obtain no justice and only expose themselves to the brutality of the soldiery.

The befehl orders that those on whom the soldiers are quartered should receive a kreutzer (four centimes) a day for each soldier

but this compensation called (schlaf kreutzer) is hardly ever paid.

The captain of the company, the Burgomaster, and the other employés, divide it amongst them.

The Infantry soldier receives in Gallicia four kreutzers per day, the corporal eight kreutzers, the sub-lieutenant two hundred florins a year, the lieutenant three hundred florins, the captain eight hundred florins, the colonel three thousand florins, and the generals four, five, and six thousand florins a year. Military honours are only rendered in Austria to military persons—Count Ankwicz, a Germanised, Polish, renegade, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Gallicia and *Primas Regni*, demanded of the military authorities a guard of honor, it was refused him and the general commanding

facetiously remarked that it would be much more becoming to place before the Archiepiscopal Palace, a priest with a crucifix than a soldier with a musket.

The French army is more Catholic. I see with pleasure a sentry mounting guard before the Archiepiscopal Palace of Bordeaux.

In general the Germans do not like the Poles but they fear them on account of their intrepidity and bravery. An example will strengthen this assertion.

In 1840 a Pole challenged M. Gerstner, lieutenant in the Regiment of Coburg Lancers. As duels are prohibited in Austria M. Gerstner denounced the challenger to the military authorities of Saatz, in Bohemia.

The Pole was thereupon seized, loaded with chains on the hands and feet, and car-

ried before a court martial. As soon as M. Gerstner entered the Hall of the Tribunal. and that he perceived his Polish challenger bound, he drew his sword, first cut his arms, by way of precaution, and then hacked his face in presence of the military council, and after this *duel* withdrew.

The German gazette of Augsburg, of the 17th of June 1840, No. 169, in announcing this fact, adds, that M. Gerstner took flight.

Knowing the administration of justice in Austria, I can affirm that the mutilated Pole, if he survived this combat, will have been condemned to forced labour in a fortress, and will have been left the right of judicially prosecuting M. Gerstner, who is most probably secretly transferred to another regiment garrisoned, either in Hungary or Italy.

The Austrian Censorship suppresses the numbers of the foreign journals that contain such statements.

The inhabitants of Austria have no knowledge of the military exploit of the Baron Gerstner.

To compensate for the loss of the Battle of the Bridge of Arcola, Austria allowed the French Plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Rastadt to be pillaged and murdered on the 28th of April 1799.

The Austrian cavalry, commanded by a Colonel, surprised, within a short distance of Rastadt, the carriages in which the three French plenipotentiaries with their wives and children were, he attacked them. Mr. Bonnier and Roberjeot had their throats cut, Mr. Jean Debry was wounded. France lost this battle, firstly, because the three French-

men, their wives and children, were surprised in their carriages, and that the number of hazards was a hundred to one.

Formerly the German soldiers were called Kands-knecht, a German word which signifies, servants of the country, but since a short time the government orders them to be called *soldaten*, a term borrowed from the French language and transposed fresh into the German vocabulary: in the singular, the soldier in German is called soldat.

The person of the soldier on duty is sacred and inviolable, passers by are obliged to uncover before a sentinel, to obey without hesitating, his orders on pain of being shot or killed by the bayonet. The sentinel is thus made your absolute master--your judge and executioner, from whom there is no appeal. Woe betide you therefore if you pass alone before a sentinel whom you have offended.

He kills you, and says afterwards that you were wanting in respect towards him. Such sanguinary occurrences happen often in Gallicia, but it is forbidden to speak about or publish them in the newspapers—they happen even sometimes at Vienna. According to the Augsburg Universal Gazette of the 16th of Feb. last, No 47 ; the Austrian sentinels have killed by gun shot wounds, in a short space of time, five persons who passed them smoking cigars.

Every regiment has its chaplain, and all the soldiers assist every Sunday at mass, after which they are exhorted to remain true to their faith. The soldiers are very religious, they go to mass when they are ordered, and remain away when they are not ; the Kaiser fears fanaticsm as much as the light of reason. The Austrians say that

a soldier who is a bigot, and who has more faith in the cross that in his gun or sword is a coward, and unworthy of the name of Austrian soldier.

CHAPTER X.

FINANCES. TAXES.

THE principles of the Austrian financial administration are those natural to the illegitimate proprietors of capital in all branches of industry; viz. to draw the greatest revenue at the least possible cost.

The Kaisers only differ from the highway-

men in leaving life to their subjects after having plundered them; because not fearing, like ordinary rogues, to be seized and brought to trial. They besides preserve the lives of their victims to augment their treasures, because only acknowledging the supreme tribunal of God, to which all Despots by the Grace of God must assume submission.

With regard to wealth, the Kaiser well deserves the title of the modern Crœsus. He is the richest, and, at the same time, the most avaricious sovereign in the world. He personally holds the keys of the strong places in which his treasures are deposited, and knows better than any banker the art of book-keeping by double entry. By means of his paper money and extortions the Kaiser has exchanged and amassed in his coffers all the gold and silver of his private

subjects, the churches, parishes, and communities of his empire.

The Kaiser is the first banker.

The empire is his property, and he is the absolute and exclusive master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects. The Sovereigns of Austria assume the title of Kaiser in Germany, because in the German version of the gospel it is said : Give unto the Kaiser that which is Kaiser's (Gebt dem Kaiser was des Kaiser's ist.) In Poland they arrogate the style of Cesar because in the Polish version of the gospel it is said : Give unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's. *Oddajcie Cesarzowi co jest Cesarskiego.* All the clergy of the empire are ordered to remind the people at least once a month to render up to the Kaiser all money, because all money belongs to the Kaiser by order of God.

All that the subjects pay, or are liable to pay, they are supposed to owe to the government or state. "It is not to me that you pay," says the Kaiser to his subjects "it is to the government." On the contrary, if the government has to disburse the pay of soldiers, clergy, public functionaries, etc., etc., the Kaiser is supposed to expend out of his private purse.

"It is to the Kaiser you owe obedience and fidelity, because he pays," is continually repeated by their agents of all descriptions.

The pecuniary relief which France affords to the unfortunates who have suffered inundations, hail, or fire, are unknown in Austria. Everything is owing the Kaiser or his government, but the government is not supposed to owe anything to any human being.

In rare and extraordinary cases of great and afflicting calamity, by which thousands

are reduced to beggary, the Kaiser opens his purse and gives one or two hundred florins in paper money. It is severely forbidden, and is a crime provided for by the penal code, to subscribe without the permission of the Kaiser, for the relief of misfortunes occurring in foreign countries. On the occasion of the great fire at Hamburg, the Kaiser allowed a collection to be made throughout the whole empire, which produced, inclusive of the Imperial donation, nine or ten thousand florins (800£). The Austrians are not even generous to their countrymen.

France, a strange country, subscribed more than 400,000 francs, (about 16,000£)

It is forbidden and punished as a crime by confiscation to play in foreign lotteries; on the other hand, it is permitted to make lotteries of estates and houses. It is allowed to value them at three or four times

their real worth, and to sell the tickets in foreign countries, particularly in France, where the inhabitants are fond of gaming, because, besides the money which comes from abroad for the sale of the tickets, the proprietors of the estates which are put up to lottery are obliged to pay to the Kaiser beforehand ten per cent of the estimated price under the name of Regalia.

The Kaisers and Austrian Princes never travel abroad, or if their policy obliges them to travel they then do so incognito, bearing the title of some poor baron to save expence.

In the interior of their empire they never give anything to their poor or to the church.

To recompense their faithful servants, they award them honorary titles and orders, but never estates, pensions, nor even so much as gold snuff boxes.

These honorary titles of nobility, these orders are indeed very often given merely for the sake of the fees which they entail. Hungarians, Italians, and Poles are called to Vienna by the Court to make them spend their property, and render them a prey to hungry German Barons.

Austrian nobles are not allowed to travel abroad, to prevent the exportation of their money; on the other hand, permission is given to beggars and poor workmen to travel, that they may bring back money to Austria.

In Paris alone there are 50,000 poor Germans, and there are not 50,000 poor Frenchmen in the whole of the Austrian Empire.

Whilst the Germans at Paris are at the charge of the French Nation and government, it is reckoned that Austria derives a revenue of several millions a year from the

Duke of Bordeaux, his court, and the French legitimatists. These are the refugees to whom the Kaisers delight to offer hospitality.

After the insurrection in Poland of 1830 the Kaiser received in his empire the Polish refugees. He allowed officers 40 kreutzers a day, (1*s* 4*d*) but at the same time he lodged them at the Barracks of Brun, 15 and 20 men in a room, made them sleep in beds of private soldiers, and withheld for this lodging 15 kreutzers (6*d*) a day per head, so that the officers were supposed to receive 40 kreutzers, but did in reality only receive 25 kreutzers a day. It was forbidden to receive and lodge them in the town.

The sources of revenue of the Austrian government are of five different kinds:

1stly, Direct taxation; 2ndly, Indirect

taxation; 3rdly, Royal tax called Regalia; 4thly, Domaines; 5thly, Monopolies.

By direct taxation in Austria is understood (a) the funded tax of houses and lands; (b) the Dominical, or Seigniorial tax.

Since 1818 the land tax is established according to the register of estates, taken in the reign of Joseph II, in 1787, and verified in 1817.

This register was taken and verified by the parishes themselves. In each parish six peasants or burghers were sworn, together with the clergyman and Burgomaster, or lord of the manor, and two persons as witnesses from the neighbouring parishes.

These people all worked, wrote and surveyed for the public good, and consequently gratis. This enregistration consequently costs the Emperor nothing, but it is very

inexact and in consequence greatly to the detriment of the contributors.

In Austria all inaccuracy on the part of public functionaries to the prejudice of the Kaiser is a crime; and, besides cashiering, subjects them to other severe penalties, though all inaccuracy, prejudicial to subjects and in favour of the Kaiser, is looked upon as a proof of zeal and fidelity.

The engineers and commissioners who superintended, verified and rectified the operation of enregistering, in order not to commit any mistake to the prejudice of the Kaiser's interest, increased arbitrarily the result given by the surveyors relative to the quantity and quality of the lands.

The produce of the soil is taxed according to the prices of 1796, because corn was dearer then; firstly, on account of

the war carried on against the French republic; secondly, because there was more money in Austria and in Gallicia then than in 1811 or at the present period. Before the French revolution, paper money was unknown, and the churches, convents, and parishes were not quite pillaged.

Like Verrés in Sicily, the Kaiser in Poland in order to fix the tax takes the Hectolitre of corn three, four, or five times higher than what it sells for. The Poles subject to Austria pass their days, as formerly the Sicilians did, a prey to extortion, rapine and a variety of detestable iniquities; the imperial extortioners generally sell the objects seized, such as cattle or corn at the tenth and even the twentieth of the enregistered price.

During my employment at Zloczow the cows seized were sold for a florin, which ordinarily fetched in the market

twelve or fifteen florins, and a Hectolitre of corn was sold for twenty kreutzers which was taxed by government at five florins (a florin contains sixty kreutzers).

The seigniorial tax is based on the census and declaration of 1775 and 1776.

The Austrian government in requiring these declarations informs the proprietors that it will only maintain the forced labour mentioned in its declaration, which are consequently made to the great prejudice of the peasants who are ground down by the Robot. The rate of the land tax is from eight to twelve per cent.

The free lands and those subject to forced labour, or tithe, or church rates, pay equally this tax without any deduction in valuing the net produce.

The rate of seigniorial taxation, under different names, varies between thirty and forty per cent. without counting the ex-

penses of dominical jurisdiction, which make it amount to more than 70.

The soi-disant Polish landlords have therefore the honour of being only executioners of the unfortunate Polish peasantry, and indeed of Poland, because all the moral, physical and political strength of Poland is the peasantry.

The Kaisers absorb, under different pretext, more than the value of the Robot. When the lordships are farmed, the farmer is obliged to pay to the Kaiser separately from two and a half to forty per cent. of the net revenue of the farm.

Under the head of indirect taxation is understood : 1stly, the custom houses, which are established on the Prussian, Russian Polish, and Hungarian frontiers.

Hungary is looked upon in relation to the other provinces as a foreign country ; less

attention is paid to it than to the other provinces, because it cannot make use of the right of reciprocity, or reprisals towards the other Austrian provinces. This right belongs only to its sovereign the Kaiser. 2ndly the Capitation tax, *(kopfsteur)* all persons from the age of fifteen until seventy five pay yearly thirty kreutzers.

3rdly, A tax is paid on all that is eaten, drank, or burnt.

4thly. The Jewish tax *(judensteur)* to which the Jews alone are subject, is raised on the meat and candles—and on the sabbath.

I remember, for instance, that a goose which is sold in Gallicia for fifteen kreutzers pays as Jewish tax ten kreutzers.

5thly. Class tax *(klassenteuer)*. To this tax are subject all who follow a trade, who possess mills or manufactures, or follow

any branch of industry. All masters, professors, artists, farmers, and workmen, who gain annually above one hundred and twenty florins, (twelve pounds) pay yearly from two and a half to forty per cent: for instance, the person earning a hundred and twenty florins pays two and a half per cent, he who earns four hundred florins pays five per cent, and in the same ratio up to sixteen thousand florins yearly, which pays forty per cent.

6thly. The house tax, which pays in the villages at the rate of forty kreutzers per cottage, and in the towns according to the rent; for this end every landlord is obliged to make a written contract with his tenant on stamped paper and to present it to the Burgomaster to be registered. The lodgings of the landlord are taxed as if he was tenant—every evasion of this law is pun-

ished by a fine of twenty times the annual rent.

7thly. Tolls on roads, aqueducts, and bridges. Every two leagues there is a wooden turnpike, and a farmer's cottage across the road. All roads leading to and from towns are furnished with barriers, and payment must be made both on entering and leaving.

At Leopol a drive outside the barrier, in a carriage drawn by two horses, costs twenty kreutzers, and there is neither bridge nor aqueduct to cross.

France, which has no tolls on roads, ought to submit all Austrian subjects, and all Austrian merchandise, on their entry into France, to an indemnity for the roads by the right of reciprocity. The tolls and reparations of roads are farmed by Jews or Germans who ill-treat and extort from travellers in all possible ways.

They are often obliged, and in particular on winter nights, to wait two or four hours before the turnpike is opened, every traveller is obliged to show the farmer the toll receipt of the preceding tollgate, or to pay, as fine, twenty times the amount of the toll.

8th. Military quartering tax, (*Militar-quartier-geld*) is levied on all cottages and houses.

Royal taxes, (Regalia), in this category enter—1stly, Stamps. All documents proving an obligation contracted or acquitted. All petitions to tribunals, offices, magistrates, functionaries, or the Kaiser, must be written on stamped paper.

The stamps for documents is from three kreutzers to one hundred florins, according to their value, from two florins up to one

hundred thousand and above. 2dly, postage of letters.

The conveyance of letters costs the government nothing; the postmasters have charged themselves with it gratis, in consideration of the exclusive privilege which they possess of conveying travellers and of being paid according to the privileged tariff.

The postmasters are however only allowed to let out horses without carriages.

3rdly, Conferring nobility, titles, dignities, and orders. The title of knight pays five thousand florins, of count, fifteen thousand, of prince, twenty five thousand florins tax, without counting the stamps.

4thly, Lottery.

5thly, Fines for blows with the stock and others.

6thly, Domains; all villages, towns and burghs, which at the epoch of the Austrian

Invasion in 1772 were free, that is to say, had no lords, became the Kaiser's property, and forms his domains.

The Polish inhabitants of these domains are subject to forced labour, and to all other rates, taxes, and tithes, like the serfs of private individuals.

The greater part of these domains are sold to individuals. We have already said that it is not permitted the Polish peasantry, subject to forced labour, to ransom themselves. Confiscated property falls to the Kaiser.

7thly, Monopolies.

Under this head are understood, 1stly, salt, 2ndly, tobacco, 3rdly, gunpowder, 4thly, diligences, 5thly, printing and the sale of classic books, 6thly, manufacture of military arms.

There are in Gallicia three principal salt works.

Those of Wieliezka, at the foot of the Carpathian Mountains, are the most fruitful and celebrated in the world.

The salt of these works requires no preparation to fit it for consumption. It resembles a frozen sea, the salt of which is nearly as transparent and clear as that of ice.

The net revenue of the salt works of Wieliezka amounts to more than six millions of florins a year, the cost of working to barely one hundred thousand florins.

It is severely forbidden all individuals to use salt or saline spring s which they may discover on their estates.

It is forbidden individuals to keep diligences or horses on the Kaiserial road (Kaiserstrasse). The punishment for transgressing this befehl is the confiscation of the horses and an arbitrary fine. Drivers and individuals who travel with their own horses

are obliged before their departure to furnish themselves with a Certificate from the government, which contains the number and specification of the horses, and pay to the Kaiser an indemnity, called Kopytkowe.

The diligence fares are higher in Gallicia, where the hectolitre of oats costs only twenty or twenty-four sous, than in France where oats are manyfold dearer.

A place in the interior of the Kaiserial diligence—and there are no others—from Leopol to Vienna, that is to say two hundred Austrian leagues, costs forty-eight florins or nearly five pounds.

The net revenue which the Kaiser derives from Gallicia amounts to from twelve to fourteen million florins, and the expenses in Gallicia amount to from four to six millions. The Kaiser's net revenue is there-

fore eight million florins (eight hundred thousand pounds) yearly.

This net revenue, which every year augments the Imperial treasury, is explained by the excess of production over consumption, and of exportation over importation.

The Polish peasants produce ten times more than they consume. The black slaves cost their proprietors much more than the Austriaco-polish slaves.

The expense of public works amounts to from four to six thousand florins yearly.

An express permission of the Kaiser must be obtained for every fresh construction however small the amount of expense, and for all repairs that cost more than two hundred florins (twenty pounds).

The towns must have the permission of the Circles, for all the ordinary expenses

which exceed the sum of five florins. The Kaiser is the only banker of his Empire. Individuals are only his clerks, destined to draw money from Russia, Turkey, France and England, by means of fraudulent bankruptcies, &c.

Austrian silver money contains thirteen sixteenths of fine and three sixteenths alloy. In Gallicia anything but copper and paper money and pieces of silver of twenty kreutzers is never seen.

Two florins (four shilling-pieces) of silver are very scarce.

The gold which the Kaiser draws from the Hungarian mines is only destined to increase his treasure.

The Russian ducats and roubles are in full circulation and known by every one in Gallicia, which shows that the exports from Gallicia into Russia much surpass the im-

ports. Since the Polish insurrection of 1809, Austria grants an asylum to all the rich Russian Poles.

The Kaiser Francis was informed by his agents that the Russian roubles, struck in the reign of Catherine the Second, considerably exceeded their nominal value, and ordered his secret agents to buy in Russia seven millions of roubles, which he caused to be melted down; gaining by this speculation one million roubles or £160,000.

The Germans know the Finances of Russia better than the Russians themselves.

The paper money which the French republic issued from necessity, and which disappeared with the financial crisis, was introduced into Austria, and only exists there at present through the speculative spirit and insatiable cupidity of the Kaisers seeking to enrich themselves at the expense

of their subjects and strangers—a befehl sanctions the punishment of death against any one refusing to receive them. During the first two years after their first emission paper money was at par with cash.

The facility of transport and its novelty made it sought after. The Kaiser Francis profitted by the simplicity of his people, and ordered all his cashiers of circles and his public agents to make payments only in paper money, and to exchange and buy up, with paper money, all the gold and silver they could. His secret agents spread themselves for the same end in all the provinces and abroad. He commanded, under penalty of imprisonment and confiscation, all churches, towns, parishes and public bodies to deliver up to him all gold and silver articles and money, and had them paid in paper money

according to the exchange as Austrian justice requires.

The result of these financial operations was that gold poured into the imperial coffers; but soon afterwards, notwithstanding the hundreds of millions which those indefatigable champions of despotism, the French emigrants, were importing, gold and silver became scarce, and the value of paper money began to fall from 1795 till in 1809 it was of seven for eight. In 1811 a befehl appeared which reduced the nominal value of paper to twenty per cent. and in 1816 appeared another befehl which reduced it to eight per cent.

This eight per cent. was paid in paper money, called bank notes, which are at present in circulation, which constitute the fictitious debt of the Austrian monarchy and await an ulterior reduction.

These reductions produced a mass of failures, and bankruptcies throughout the whole empire. Strangers suffered, the Kaiser alone gained. The Kaiser might rid himself of this debt by a befehl but he prefers maintaining the paper money, and these are the reasons: firstly, paper money makes him master of his subjects' fortunes; and secondly, because the value of paper depends upon his own will. Lastly, he thus gains, every year, millions which the possessors of paper loose by combustion, destruction, and other accidents.

I know a lawyer at Leopol who lost twenty seven thousand florins of paper money eaten by the rats. The Kaiser therefore profitted to the same amount, because all loss or deterioration of paper goes in the possessor's account.

The Kaiser will not take paper money of which the smallest piece is wanting.

This paper money serves as a further pretext for the Kaiser to extort from his faithful subjects, because he is supposed to have debts and pay the interest on them. To this effect the amount of the debt and interest are published in all the almanacks, in all historical, geographical books and journals.

It is made known by the professors to all scholars and by the priests to all their parishioners. In abolishing the debt and paying nothing, the Kaiser would appear of bad faith, would not be able to deceive in future, and would gain less, whereas in reducing it gradually *ad infinitum* he appears to act with good faith and can always deceive his creditors, not only ninety two per cent. as he has done, but nine hundred and

ninety nine out of a thousand. The raising taxes is done in the following manner, there is, as we have already said, at the chief place of every circle, a treasury (Kreis Kasse) composed of a collector, comptroller, and two writers. The contributors are obliged to pay their taxes quarterly into the hands of the cashier of the circle, after the expiration of the time for the payment, he sends a nominal list of defaulters to the circle.

The circle calls out a military force and quarters on the defaulters, one or two soldiers of Infantry on peasants or burghers; and Cavalry soldiers, or officers on noblemen.

The defaulters are obliged to lodge and feed the soldiers and horses, and pay each soldier the first eight days six Kreutzers per day, the next eight days twelve Kreutzers per day.

This mode of levying is called in Austria

military execution. When there are not soldiers sufficient, and this constantly happens, nearly always one soldier is charged with thirty, forty, or sixty executions. He then visits the defaulters daily to collect the fine, and the military collectors do not receive any pay whilst they are thus employed, the amount being withheld for the Kaiser's benefit. If after two months' execution and military vexations, the defaulter does not pay his tax, then a commissary is sent who has a right to include the expenses of a carriage and four horses to go and return, and eight shillings a day (called *dieten*) as an indemnity. According to the Austrian system the taxes considerably exceed the pecuniary means of those taxed.

The Kaiser's avidity knows no bounds; whatever can be extorted is so.

Those who can, are made to pay for those

who cannot, nothing being left to the peasantry but that which is absolutely necessary to a miserable subsistence, and even that is only left to those who are indispensibly necessary to production, or as instruments of oppression.

The rest of the Polish population is left to die of misery and inanition.

We have already stated that the aboriginal population of Gallicia and Lodomeria instead of increasing has considerably diminished during the seventy three years, which have elapsed since the commencement of the paternal sway of Austria.

Attached to each circle is a doctor (*kreis physik*) paid by government at the rate of eight hundred florins a year. His professed duty is gratuitously to attend the sick peasants.

These peasants, who in the spring live only on herbs and roots, are attacked by fever.

Instead of giving them bread, or rather instead of depriving them of it, the doctor, who receives his secret instruction from the Gubernium, orders a decoction of herbs, which carries off the peasantry in masses.

In each chief place of the circle there is a privileged pharmacy, which bears the title of kayserial pharmacy.

All physicians and apothecaries of these circles are of German origin and, for the most part, birth. They take an oath of fidelity and secrecy to the government.

The Austrian government is master of the art of all kinds of poisoning, and no people lend themselves with more *sang froid*, devotion, and fidelity to similar crimes than the Austrian Germans.

The amount of the Kaiser's exactions under the title of taxes, are about from 16 to 18 millions annually. It varies according to the means of the population liable to taxation.

The receipts, as we have already said, amount to from 12 to 14 millions. The difference between the receipts and the amount demanded that is to say four millions of florins which cannot be extorted, is termed arrears.

These arrears are kept in evidence, and the commissaries, where possible, exact payment of them during a few ensuing years.

After more than five years of fruitless vexations, the Kaiser remits these arrears. It is remissions of a similar nature that the Kaiser makes, from time to time, when wishing to give proofs of his inexhaustible generosity and magnaminity, and which the German papers trumpet with such perfidious emphasis.

A befehl of the Kaiser allows his subjects to make their payments in foreign pieces of gold or silver, and the treasurers are obliged to receive them according to the fixed tariff.

But, on the other hand, the treasurers are ordered, under pain of dismissal and imprisonment, to pay all subjects, functionaries or individuals, only in paper money or Austrian silver pieces. The declared object of this befehl is to preserve the subjects from the frauds and vexations of the treasurers.

The real secret object of the Kaiser is to gain possession of all the gold and silver that comes into the country. The treasurers are obliged to indicate in their journals, in detail, the pieces and kinds of money paid. All the Austrian or foreign gold pieces and all foreign silver is sent to the Kaiser's treasury at Vienna the first day of each month. All foreign money which falls into the public, civic, or Kayserial treasuries are only issued from them to be conveyed to Vienna.

There is for the whole of Gallicia but one

exchange office, at Leopol, in which paper money can be exchanged against silver pieces of twenty Kreutzers (eightpence) there is in this office but a single kaiseral agent to effect this exchange, and only during five days of the week, from nine in the morning until twelve. Generally not more than from five, six, or ten florins is exchanged for each individual. The paper notes are generally for one, two, five, ten, fifty, one hundred, five hundred, and one thousand florins.

The financial administration is merciless in its exactions and miserable in its expenditure. Austrian Poland has no canals, railroads nor public works. There is but one single great road which leads from Vienna to Brody, and it is encumbered with tolls every two leagues.

Commerce, which enriches other countries,

impoverishes Austrian Poland, profiting only the Kaiserial treasury. There are in the Austrian Empire free towns, the signification of which is not known in the rest of Europe; two of these, Brody and Podgorze, are situated in Austrian Poland, both on the Russian frontier. The free Austrian towns have a right to introduce all indigenous and foreign merchandise free of any custom-house duty — but, as regard exportation, are looked upon as foreign. They are surrounded by sbirri and custom house officers on the Russian frontier. The exportation of merchandise for Russia is facilitated by the Austrian government by all legal and illegal, private and public means—in a word, the free Austrian towns of Brody and Podgorze are smuggling dens organised by the Kaiser himself against

Russia. The free towns are, on the other hand, administered, like all other towns; they pay enormous taxes, and are destined to draw the money from Russia and Russian Poland. The accountant's office, called Buchhaltung, established at Leopol, keeps the accounts of the revenue and expenses of Austrian Poland, and controls the accounts of all the administrative and judicial authorities.

This office is dependent on the Aulic chamber of finance at Vienna (hof kammer). The financial system is so exact and severe in Austria, that it is impossible to cheat the Kaiser of a single farthing, without being discovered, but in order to palliate his avarice and induce the unsophisticated people to believe that the enormity of taxation arises from the functionaries' robbing the Kaiser, in visiting the Buchhaltung during his presence

at Leopol, said—"this is where they count farthings and rob millions," these words, of which the Germans alone know the whole weight, are repeated and carried to the knowledge of all Poles.

The Austrian Empire itself would be perilled if the avarice and opulence of the Kaiser were known by his non-Germanic subjects.

CHAPTER XI.

Recapitulation. Cause of the Insurrection of Cracovia and Gallicia. Massacre of the clergy and landed proprietors ordered.

THE ten preceding chapters of this work were written and in the press before the Polish insurrection of Cracow and Gallicia in the month of February, 1846; the present is written after that event, and its object

is to recapitulate the ten preceding chapters, and to show the causes and action of the insurrection which recently broke out and which ought to surprise no one, because it was a necessary sequel to the robbery, oppression, and rapacity of the paternal government. This insurrection was to be moved by the Catholic clergy and proprietors; because it is these two classes who are forced by the government to oppress the peasants to its own exclusive advantage. We have seen that the monarchical principle, *divide et impera*, is practised in Gallicia on the most extensive scale; the peasants, nobles, burghers, priests, soldiers, workmen, masters, servants, men and women, are all equally liable to flogging. Poles, Germans, Jews, Kaiserical, Civil and Seigniorial functionaries, each in their, class have peculiar duties, privileges and tribunals. We have

seen that the Austrian throne is only an office; it is on this account that the German liberals and the Poles call the Kaiser, his grand vizier Metternich, and all his clerks and functionaries, Jews. We have seen that the Austrian government is not aristocratical because the nobility takes no part; neither is it democratical because the people is quite excluded, it cannot be called a Bureaucracy because the functionaries are only servile agents. The functionaries, civil and military officers in swearing fidelity to the Kaiser, abjure their country and nationality; they cease to be children and defenders of their country and become vile mercenaries of the Kaiser. The feeling and conviction they possess of their own degradation divests them of all personal and national dignity; they are knavish, perfidious, cowardly towards the strong and cruel towards the weak.

They are almost without exception of the lowest and most indigent extraction, whether of the noble or plebeian classes—without religion, morals or country. The Kaiser who is supposed to pay them is their God. He is the source and visible head of their religion. They are neither Poles, Germans, Hungarians, Bohemians nor Italians, they are Austrians. The German Austrians themselves say that the chancellor Metternich is only a Westphalian parvenu called Ochsenhausen. The nominal Vice-Governor of Gallicia, the Baron Krieg is a Hessian parvenu, he came to Gallicia, barefoot and covered with rags, forty-five years ago obtained a situation of three hundred florins yearly, and succeeded in marrying the daughter of an honest tailor of Leopol, who brought him six hundred florins marriage portion, and gave him two boys. As soon as he became Aulic Councillor, Krieg

was ashamed of his wife, and degraded her to the situation of cook. Krieg is of a cold disposition, divested, like almost all the Austrian functionaries and officers, of all sentiments of dignity, liberty, humanity or generosity ; a faithful and devoted servant of his Kaiser, to whom he owes all his existence ; a cruel and sanguinary executor of his orders. The General Werbna, Commandant of the town of Cracow, is a Bohemian renegade. The General Castiglione, Commandant of Gallicia, is an Italian renegade, &c. &c. The Kaiser Habsburg himself is a Swiss parvenu. These are the people who govern unfortunate Poland, who order the massacres of the Catholic clergy and eminent Polish patriots.

We have seen that the Polish language, essential basis of nationality, is forbidden in the schools, the tribunals, administration,

army and church—that the seigniorial estates and those of the peasantry are individual—that the proprietors cannot free these peasants from forced labour, that the entire revenue of the forced labour, and even more, accrues to the imperial treasury.

We have seen that many proprietors are cruel and ill-treat the peasantry, but they only ill-use them because the government requires it, because the Government deprives the peasant of the national right of defending himself against the proprietor or his aggressive officers, and only punishes with an illusory fine of twenty four kreutzers a blow of the stock.

Metternich says in his diplomatic note of the 7th March, 1846, that he has sent to his agents at the German courts "that the Austrian government had ameliorated the condition of the Polish

peasantry who hate polonism (Polenthum) because it reminds them of their misery--that the insurgents of Cracow and Gallicia did not wish to make a revolution but a counter-revolution." It is of bad augury for the Austrian empire when its grand vizier Metternich is driven to defend himself by such diplomatic falsehoods. During no period of the Polish independent government has the condition of the peasantry been legally and systematically more unfortunate than under the paternal government of Austria. The Austrian Polish peasantry are much more unfortunate than the Russian peasantry and, past comparison, more unhappy than the Prussian Polish peasantry. The Russian ladies, subaltern officers, generals, functionaries and Russian soldiers have a much greater sentiment of liberty and sympathy for human nature

than the Austrian German, or Austriannized subjects, who are quite devoid of it. We have seen that the peasantry are oppressed by the lords and clergy, and that the lords and clergy are oppressed by the government. The lords have a right to forced labour, but on account of this forced labour they pay to the Kaiser under the head of direct and indirect taxes, more than a hundred and twenty per cent. They are obliged to maintain a justiciary, and mandatarius to levy the conscripts and taxes on the peasantry. The lords might virtually renounce the forced labour, but they cannot free themselves from the charges attendant on the forced labour, and which absorb it to the Kaiser's profit. We have already observed that there are besides, peasants of whom the Kaiser is at the same time lord, these peasants constitute the domains, and are called *Kammerals*.

It is of these peasants that the paternal government made use to massacre the priests and Polish nobles. It is not the peasantry of the nobles who assassinated their lords. No, it was the Kaiser's peasantry, commanded by Colonel Benedik, and soldiers disguised as peasants, who went from castle to castle murdering the Polish nobles, men, women and children, without ever having seen them, and delivered the bodies to the Circles in consideration of ten florins a head. Metternich in his note does not deny the premium promised of ten florins. The regular monarchical government boasts and publishes in the papers that the peasantry bring in every day bodies of the nobles. Instead of arresting the assassins, as any other regular government would do, the paternal government pays and encourages them to

fresh exploits. The paternal government knew some time back the general dissatisfaction which its rapacity must necessarily produce, and it expected an insurrection ; it has also for some time past treated the crown peasantry with caution, to unleash them with greater success against these nobles and their peasantry. The Polish Insurrection was to have broken out on the 22nd or 28th of February, and the paternal government was forewarned of it. It might have had the conspirators arrested and tried, but judicial proceedings are long and expensive, and proofs difficult. It would be necessary to acquit—there not being sufficient proof—persons dangerous to the anti-national government. It would have been necessary to issue amnesties, not to pass for barbarous and cruel in the eyes of Europe. On the other hand, how arrest the

judges of the land themselves, and imprison one or two hundred thousand conspirators? The Czar, whose cruelty is more open, has the conspirators seized, judged, and hanged. In proportion as the Czar publishes himself does the Kaiser dissimulate. The paternal government therefore anticipates the conspiracy, sends assassins ten days before its outbreak to massacre the nobles, priests and patriots the most dangerous to despotism. After having had all the persons suspected of liberalism or nationalism assassinated in this manner, and after having confiscated their property, the Kaiser will interfere in favor of the priests and nobles, will deplore the catastrophe, shed tears, grant a general amnesty after having had three or four thousand patriots murdered—and the German hireling press will chaunt the clemency and generosity of the good Kaiser Landsesvater.

To give proof of his justice and good will, the Kaiser will maintain the Robot, or change it into a quit rent, because it is necessary to the system that the lords should always be the objects of hatred and execration of the peasantry, so that their eyes may be averted from the real author of their misery.

CHAPTER XII.

We cannot better terminate this work than by re-producing a few traits which throw light on the events which have taken place in Poland, and particularly in Gallicia, which clearly show the incompatibility and contrast of a monarchical government, par excellence, and the national spirit of Poland which is one of fraternity.

The proclamation of the insurgent Poles, and the conduct of the provisional government of Cracow give the best answer to all the stories and calumnies which the absolutist press of Germany, and the accomplices of Metternich in France, seek to propagate.

The independent press and independent members of both legislative chambers of France have already rendered justice to this atrocious piece of barbarity, with which the monarchy treats Poland, and imposes its domination. It becomes daily more evident that the massacres in Gallicia were ordered, prepared, organized, directed and paid by the Austrian government. Excepting confidential agents, friends, and accomplices of Austria, this ought not to astonish any one in France, because despotism can only exist and maintain itself by violence, corruption,

and falsehood. All despotisms follow the same system. They establish and maintain themselves by the same means, but they apply these differently according to circumstances—according to the measure of their danger and power. The more they are menaced in their existence the more cruel and barbarous they become. The events in Gallicia only prove that Austrian despotism, paternal as it is for its docile, submissive, and degraded slaves, is execrated by all Polish patriots, and that, at its last gasp, it can find no other way of maintaining itself than by cheating and corrupting the ignorant who are plunged in the greatest misery, and of exterminating in a body the enlightened middle classes. It flattered, deceived, and subsidized the unfortunate peasantry, led away by promises, brandy, and false brothers,

travestied and regimented, for without the aid of the peasantry it would have been lost, but once out of the danger, it will treat them as it treated the Hungarian peasantry, whom it made use of in 1831 to massacre the Hungarian nobles. It is neither a new system nor a change of the old. That which has always been practised in Austria quietly, with the approbation of all princes, on isolated patriots, is practised now on a larger scale for the greater glory and safety of the monarchy. Sooner or later, and perhaps even shortly, events will not fail to show that, notwithstanding what has recently happened in Gallicia, the people of that country are one of the mildest, most honest, and patriotic in Europe, but on account of its simplicity, easy to cheat and enslave, as formerly the Jewish people which cried crucify ! crucify !

Of all those who have latterly made themselves the instruments, defenders, or apologists, of the paternal Austrian government it is not the Polish peasantry who are most to blame, neither are they the most cruel. Which of the two is most depraved and degraded, an ignorant person plunged in the greatest misery, deceived and led by the example of others, and by the lure of money, or a philosopher, a minister, or a writer, living in luxury, who maintains the same system, with a perfect knowledge of the circumstances and against public opinion, for a salary of one hundred thousand francs.

Manifesto of the national government of the republic of Poland.

Poles,

THE moment for insurrection is arrived—all dismembered Poland rises—already our brethren of the Grand Duchy of Posen, of Russian Poland, and Lithuania have risen and are fighting in Russia against the enemy, fighting for their most sacred rights, which force and cunning have taken from them. You well know what has happened and what is now happening. The flower of our youth perish in dungeons; our fathers, whose councils upheld us, are treated with contempt; our clergy is vilified; whoever wishes either to live or die for Poland is either destroyed, perishes in a

dungeon, or is exposed to being thrown into one every moment. The groans of millions of our brethren who were dying under the infliction of the knout in subterranean dungeons, or removed into the heart of the oppressor's country, undergoing all the sufferings that man can endure, have penetrated our hearts, which have been thereby deeply affected.

We have been deprived of our glory, our language has been forbidden, and we have been interdicted from exercising the rites of our forefather's creed. Insurmountable barriers are opposed to the amelioration of our social state, brother is armed against brother, and calumny is spread against the most honourable children of our country—One step more, my brethren, and Poland was lost. Our descendants will curse our memory for having left in one of the finest

countries of the earth only ruins and a desert, for having left a warlike people in bondage and for having forced them to profess a strange religion, to speak a foreign language, beneath the yoke of our oppressors. The ashes of our fathers, martyrs to the national right, cry to us from the tomb to avenge them; the children at the breast ask us to preserve for them the country which God has confided to us. All the free nations of the earth call upon us not to allow our nationality to be destroyed. God himself calls upon us, He who one day will make us render an account of our trust. We are twenty millions—let us rise as one man and no power can crush us.

We shall enjoy liberty which has hardly been equalled on earth, let us endeavour to obtain a free spot, where every one will enjoy the fruits of the earth according to

his merits and capacity ; let there be no longer any kind of privilege, let every Pole find full security for himself, wife and children, and let him who is inferior in body or intellect receive, without humiliation, the infallible assistance of the whole nation, in which the real right to the possession of the soil is vested, and at present is possessed only by a few. Interests cease, as well as forced labour, and other similar rights, and those who sacrifice themselves, and arm in the national defence will obtain an indemnity in land and national domains. Poles, henceforward, we acknowledge no difference amongst us, let us be children of one mother, of one country, of one father, our God in heaven ! let us implore His assistance, He will bless our arms and give us victory, but in order that He may grant our requests, let us not sully ourselves by the

disgraceful vice of drunkenness, nor any infamous action; let us not treat despotically those confided to us; let us not murder those that are disarmed, those who do not think as we do; neither let us destroy the stranger, because we have no quarrel with nations, but only with our oppressors. In sign of friendship, let us adopt the national creed and take the following oath: "I swear to serve Poland, my country, by council, word, and action; I swear to sacrifice to it my opinions, life and fortune; I swear an absolute obedience to the national government established at Cracow, the 22nd of this month, at eight o'clock in the evening, in the house of Krystofory, and to all the authorities instituted by government. So help me God!"

This manifesto shall be inserted in the government newspapers and suplementary papers, and sent all over Poland, notified

in all the churches from the pulpit, and in all the parishes, and by public placards in public places.

Signed,

Louis Gorzkowski.

Cracow, 22nd Feb., 1846.

Poland's Manifesto, struggling for its liberty, to the German nation.

The provisional government of the kingdom of Poland struggling for its liberty.

FREE and noble German nation! The insurrection of our brethren of the Grand Duchy of Posen has given rise to a loss

of men which we we have shared in common. Our brethren dare at present neither explain nor excuse the cause of this struggle. We speak for them, in order that the cause of the struggle be not misunderstood, and that from the beginning it give not rise to ill-feeling. Inferior in point of strength, we cannot address ourselves to a government but we can address ourselves to the people; for every noble heart and free German are able to understand us.

Our brethren of Posen in attacking the government and army proposed to unite with us in arms, and energetically assist us in our struggle against our barbarous oppressors. Their attack was therefore neither prompted by hatred to you nor by a blind self love. If God blesses our efforts our government will enter into communication with yours.

We swear from the present moment friendship and concord. Between generous and free people, there can only exist friendship and concord ; neither you nor ourselves can forget how Germany received our brethren after the sanguinary struggle of 1831. God has engraven this fact in the hearts of all honest men. We feel convinced that as soon as our exiled brethren, hearing of our struggle, hasten to our aid, you will not refuse them your assistance, for could you allow the arms of an old guest to be fettered in your own land. You understand our struggle, you have sustained one that was analogous, you conquered in the gigantic combats of 1813 and 1814. We, on the contrary, succumbed.

Perhaps God will bless our present enterprise for the glory and liberty of the whole

of humanity, so that it may one day comprise none but free and independent nations—

Given near Kielee, the 22nd Feb., 1846.

Signed,

Wegierski Razmowski.

CHAMBER OF PEERS.

Sitting of the 20th of March.

(The Duke d'Harcourt.)

"Gentlemen, I also come to take my share in this protestation against the manifestation made in this legislative assembly by the Minister for Foreign Affairs against our friends the Poles—a judgment which I sincerly hope is not without appeal, and which will not, I believe, be

ratified by France, because I can never believe that France, which we have seen formerly so chivalrous, generous, and full of pity, should at once have become, at the voice of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, so egotistical and unnatural. *(murmurs from the ministerial benches.)*

"The minister told you yesterday. What do you require of me? Do you ask my interference in the affairs of Poland? Gentlemen, if this question had been put to us in good faith, we should know how to answer it. *(great interruption.)*

The president addresses a few observations to the orator, "This question," answers M. d'Harcourt, "is put with good faith, if you will, but I think that we have nothing to expect from that side, we ask nothing of you for Poland—we know its doom is sealed, its death sentence is pronounced by a

Christian Areopagus, by those sanguinary idols, calling themselves the representatives of God upon earth, and who treat with indignity the most sacred precepts of the gospel." *(murmurs).*

The president calls a second time on M. d'Harcourt to be more moderate in his language.

M. d'Harcourt. " I take the liberty of telling the chancellor that it is the perpetrators of crimes who ought to blush, and not those who denounce them to divine, in default of human justice.

" I was complaining of these men, who, having shamefully and traitorously despoiled Poland, now assassinate its last remains, because Poland has the audacity to claim its liberty and independence. If the governments of Europe could be moved by any sentiment of generosity, they would long ago

have profited by their superiority to make a peaceable conquest of the world, in order to be its benefactors; instead of this they set the example of all spoliations and all crimes.

In Gallicia, they set prices on the heads, in the Lebanon they provoked massacres, the occupation of Algeria, it is only a long succession of throat cutting. They everywhere maintain the old system of slavery. These are the examples they give their people, in order, apparently, to encourage them to respect and submission.

"Some day, gentlemen, divine justice will take its course—the popular storm and whirlwind will end by dealing justice on all these iniquities."

From the "National" of June the 7th.

We, this morning, spoke of important details relating to the state of things in Gallicia and Russian Poland ; we now give the information and the documents which we have received from an undoubted source; they are such as to throw much light on facts which are so impudently denied by the Austrian press, and on the present condition of those Polish Provinces. Our correspondent's letter is dated May the 19th.

"On my passage through Leopol," he writes, "I heard, in respect to the late insurrection, the most flagrant falsehoods propagated, According to the Austrians the insurgents were but assassins and poisoners,

I consider it to be the duty of an honest man to declare that these reports are nothing less than infamous calumnies. As soon as I shall be out of the reach of the vengeance of the government I shall not fail to send to you a detailed account of what took place at Tarnow. Allow me at once to express my regret that the Austrian German public are reduced to obtaining their information from the paid press. Were it better informed public opinion would look for assassins and poisoners where they really are, and most assuredly it is not among the insurgents that they would be found. I will, however, in the mean time, in order to set you right, mention a few facts. In the Circle of Tarnow alone 1458 persons were murdered ; in the town of Tarnow two hundred dead bodies were brought in, and each body was regularly paid for, at first

ten florins and subsequently five. When, in consequence of the glut of this species of merchandise, the price fell to one florin a piece, the peasants decided on carrying their dead bodies into other Circles in search of more liberal purchasers. From seven hundred to eight hundred prisoners were brought into Tarnow, all were more or less seriously wounded, and it is said that two hundred did not survive the effect of their wounds, but this acconnt is perhaps not correct, because the police buried the dead during the night. Herewith I hand you a list of murdered persons who have all been buried in the cemetery of Tarnow.*

These are the only names I have been able to collect, the other victims consisted

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* We have an alphabetical list of 149 names.

of servants of all descriptions at the country houses of nobility—there were also many priests killed. Szela, the chief of the revolted peasants, for the benefit of the Austrians killed twenty two for his share. His old master Boquet and his family were the first victims of his fury. In the streets of Tarnow a parcel of little half naked children are to be seen, whose parents are unknown. Widows are in the greatest state of misery. At Vienna, as you know, it is asserted that no premiums were given to the assassins. Well, the whole of Tarnow would however prove the fact. If the peasants were not paid let them tell us then why the peasants brought the dead bodies from such distances into the towns of this circle. Question the bystanders who witnessed these funeral arrivals, who saw the dead bodies counted and then money shared out to the peasants ; let the

Austrian Government guarantee against persecution those who will give evidence of the truth, and Europe will then soon know which of us has lied. I am not aware of what nature were the instructions given to the commanders in the circles of Tarnow and Bochnia. I do not know whether they acted contrary to the orders of their government, but what is certain, is, that they paid for all bodies dead or alive brought to them. It is even said that the resources of the circles being exhausted of money--would you believe it?—was taken from the fund destined to relieve the victims of the inundations last year. This is briefly what took place during the insurrection in Austrian Poland. Would you wish to know on what terms the imperial government uphold its authority? The two following official documents are an answer to this

question, and show that Austria has leagued with assassins. In fact it is during their pleasure that she reigns in Gallicia and she is now but the humble slave of Szela. A landowner in the circle of Yaslo, having complained that his peasants would no longer attend to agriculture, and that the summer sowing would not be effected, the petition was returned to the landowner with this observation, that at the present time no measures can be taken in the matter; besides which, that the circumstances which impeded cultivation no longer existed, since Szela himself had promised to use his influence to induce the peasants to do at least the summer sowing. It would be advisable, it is added, to apply to Szela for a recommendation of this to the district in question, and that the petitioner should afterwards give advice of the determination adopted

by his peasants. Thus, Szela, who is accused of having murdered twenty-two persons, is charged by the Austrian government with settling the relations between the peasants and their lords; the other document is an ordinance from the Circle of Tarnopol, sent in the form of a circular into the district; by this ordinance a deduction is allowed them for their services of the labour-rent due by them to the lords. I could add a multitude of others to these particulars, which show sufficiently the general tendency of matters here, and the spirit which animates the Austrian government.

The Prince of Statesmen.

METTERNICH was far from supposing that Europe would discover all the atrocity and baseness of the part which he had played in organizing the massacres of Gallicia; he was far from supposing that Europe would ascertain the truth of this sanguinary drama, through the disguise of official calumny and falsehood! He no doubt thought if once the Gallician nobility were broken down and dispersed, that the peasants would return to order, and kneel, as they had previously done, to the paternal yoke of his most Catholic majesty; his views have been frustrated, Europe has branded with all its indignation, the acts of

the Austrian cabinet. A thrill of horror—a feeling of disgust and contempt has pervaded all hearts, and Austria has lost in the eyes of Europe the little consideration which she might still enjoy. We think it necessary to recur to a fact, which may not be sufficiently understood—we mean the part which the peasants took in the recent massacres in Gallicia. The actors in these scenes of horror are not properly called peasants. They belong to the landwehr, and had all been more or less demoralized and debased in the ranks of the Austrian army. At the first call of the administration these men, or rather bandits, fell upon the nobility, but they were driven back on several points by the real peasantry; in general these men armed themselves for the defence of their lords, but they took care to stipulate

for the abolition of forced labour. Peasants defended the castle of the princess Oglnska and protected it against wretches in the pay of the Austrian Government.

Mission of Poland and France in the Cause of Humanity.

Extracted from the Democratic Pacifique of the 23rd instant.

A characteristic feature of the Polish political form of government, and one which shows how much these brave warriors cherished liberty, is the form of oath taken by their kings, and by which they freed their subjects from all allegiance if they violated any of the laws of the country ; this is the formula—" et si in aliquibus juramentum meum violavero, nullam mihi incolæ regni obedientiam præstare debebunt ; imo ipso

facto, eos ab omni fide, obedientia regi debita liberos facio."

Revolt in Poland therefore partook of a legal character. As soon as the king had violated his engagement the nobility took horse, publicly associated, confederated, and rendered themselves justice.

This spirit of political independance, which is also one of the characteristics of our country, is equally found in Poland as with us, when there is a question of freedom of thought and liberty of conscience. We have recalled the characteristic saying of Erasmus, that in his time, "it was only in Poland that men dared be learned." In truth previous to the fanatical reign of Sigismund Wasa, and the introduction of the Jesuits, (1622) Poland was distinguished by its toleration, love of liberty, and freedom of thought.

In the Sixteenth Century, Socin, the il-

lustrious heresiarch of Sienna, could only find an asylum in that generous country,

At the period of the crusades the Jews, driven from all parts, found hospitality there. Yes, let us be proud to call ourselves brothers of Poland, that heroic country, that guardian of Christianity and civilization to the east of Europe which has left memorable and ineffaceable traces in history of its brilliant genius and of its ardour for human progress.

Without remembering all the illustrious names of this nation in literature and the sciences, names, alas! but too little known in France, it will suffice to cite that of Copernicus, that great and glorious child of Poland.

Let us leave the little minds who only able to perceive one point of the history of nations, repeat that Poland was governed by

confusion (Polonia confusione regitur). The political institutions of this country even in accepting them as framed by classes by the electors (the Knight and Nobles) bore the stamp of that spirit of independance which characterizes those races destined to lead humanity in the imprescriptible path of liberty. Always in arms, the Polish nobility was ever ready to rise against barbarous enemies. The Polish nobility, which felt its democratic origin took care not to adopt the balance of the three constitutional estates which came to us from England. Feeling that it composed the body of the nation, it kept the power.

The Senate in Poland had only a consultative, administrative authority ; the King was elected. The so often repeated words, " the King reigns but does not govern" dates from Sigismond III. ; it is to this King that

the chancellor Zamoyski said "*Regna sed non impera.*"

These institutions were certainly imperfect, but we repeat, and this we wish to prove that they showed the spirit of independence of the nation. Let us add that Poland possessed, from the fourteenth century, a code of laws, and that the debates were public. From the sixteenth century, it has the honour of first instituting a ministry of public instruction; at the same epoch Poland was the country which possessed most printing establishments—Cracow alone having forty eight.

The learned reformer, Schwartz—Erde (Melanchthon) after having shown that Poland guaranteed Germany and Pannonia (Hungary) from the savage hordes of Asia, rendered it homage in these words "may the arts and sciences long develop themselves

and flourish with this magnanimous nation." The brilliant futurity reserved for the Sclavonian race, of which Poland is the chief representative, was stopped in its progress by the dismemberment of that country. Europe thus lost its Eastern torch; France its beloved sister, Napoleon once appeared to have understood the high destinies of this people; but never put these views in practice. He sacrificed Poland and part of Italy to the vain alliance with the Cæsars, to that Austrian family which Henry IV., with the profound political acumen which distinguished him wished to reduce to a secondary importance. The treaties of 1815 show the last feeling of shame on the part of Europe towards Poland; but these treaties were not executed. In 1830, France rose against the pretensions of its Kings. Poland made the Tartar eagle tremble. The same electrical current of liberty seized the members

of both nations, Poland and France, but alas! brute force crushed the noble endeavours of Poland. France saw her emancipating star become pale under the weight of a corrupting government, and a Burgher class who, forgetting the great tradition of eighty nine, wastes its energy in a scramble for place, for a share in the division of the budget, and in efforts to secure scandalous, stock-jobbing profits.

"France and Poland appeared to slumber. But at the sound of the Cracow insurrection France awakens, and all her sympathies are for the Polish cause.

"Kings of the earth you may not care for the law of Providence which agitates these two noble nations. But the era of general salvation does not approach the less rapidly. Do not struggle against the work of God. If you do not wish that vengeance

should fall on the princely casts, meditate on that deep thought which serves as a motto to the new Polish revolution—the Sclavonian race wishes to give the people liberty such as has not yet been seen upon the earth. Yes, the world has not yet seen all the members of a nation participate in the rights and duties of a society based on justice. It is the reign of God which our Eastern brethren announce. They have proclaimed it from the heights of the Carpathian mountains! let us endeavour to prevent this new Sinai from being turned into a Golgotha —let us act so that if this misfortune happen the resurrection be not long waited for—that the tombstones of the martyr may soon be broken into a thousand pieces, to allow the noble figure of the regenerate Sclavonian race to re-appear!

"Let us raise the voice of France so that it awaken the distant echos of Christianity; let us act so that the walls of the Vatican and St. Peter's of Rome, those walls, where after having been carried in triumph through all Europe, shines the standard taken by Sobieski from the Turks, may resound with a *te Deum* for the re-establishment of Poland! Innocent XI, at the news of the victories of this hero fell at the feet of the crucifix, shedding tears of joy. Let us act in such a manner that this holy enthusiasm may warm the priests of our days. Their power is great, their gratitude to the deliverer of Christendom ought to be great, let us act in a manner that the providential missions of France and Poland may be accomplished; humanity demands it, France proclaims, and God wills it!"

PROCLAMATION ADDRESSED TO THE CONFEDERATE POLES.

Leopol, 18th of March--Programme addressed to the Confederates by the Chief of the Conspirators.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REVOLT.

GENERAL RISING.

1stly. Every confederate is obliged as soon as he has received news of the insurrection to appear on a fixed day and hour, with arms and baggage, at the spot designated.

2dly. The agents appointed for this object are bound to inform the confederates of

the period of insurrection, and the conduct to be pursued. They will also fix upon the spot where the confederates and forces gained over by the revolution are to assemble. Every agent will according to circumstances appoint the rendezvous.

3dly. Every confederate before appearing at the appointed spot, more particularly if he is in direct communication with our people, must assemble the parish and announce the revolution in the following manner:

"Brother Poles. I have called you together in order to announce to you, in the name of the new government of the Polish Republic, the liberty, equality and independence of our country, as well as the fraternity of all Poles. From to-day the Polish government declares all forced labour abolished, all interests, payable in kind or otherwise, as well

as the custom-house monopoly of tobacco, and all other taxes. All peasants possessing burthened property, or paying taxes are henceforward free and absolute proprietors without necessity of indemnifying the actual proprietor, only remaining subject to those charges strictly necessary for the wants of the country. All those who do not possess landed property will receive, on taking arms, five acres of land (morgen) as soon as the Germans are driven from the land. Every one receives without retribution the salt which he requires, God having given it in our earth.

From this moment all serfage ceases; the titles of Nobility, Prince, Baron, Count are abolished. All the inhabitants of the country, including the Israelities, will enjoy the same privileges. We are all henceforward Polish

citizens, with equal rights, under the same government.

Brethren! From the moment I am speaking to you, the same right is proclaimed everywhere throughout the whole of Poland. Everywhere the people is taking arms and fighting its enemies—the Germans and Russians. On the expulsion of the enemy depends the happiness of your country and your own.

Forward then in the name of the liberties which I announce to you; in the name of your own happiness and that of your children! in the name of Poland which God has given to you, and which He calls upon you to defend! of the country at this moment occupied by the Germans and Russians who oppress you.

I call upon you in the name of the Almighty! Seize your scythes, your pitch-

forks, and flails: rise and march against the enemy with me. The day is at length arrived when after the great evils of the country and its many dissensions, the Poles unite to attack the enemy, the Germans and Russians.

Down with the tyrants! down with the oppressors! long live liberty and equality, independence and fraternity, long live the Polish people!

Brethren, to-day the people regains its rights. There are now no lords. We are all equal, all animated with the same sentiments, the desire of getting rid of the enemy. Poles to arms! God blesses us!"

Instruction. Where there is a priest the present act must be proclaimed with banners unfurled, he must appear with the people at the appointed spot, cross in hand, he is then to be conducted to the neigh-

bouring village, and must, in every case, bless the enterprise and arms of the insurgents.

In those places where there is no Confederated Priest, the Patriot must call upon the Priest alone, and order him to harangue the people.

When the people shall have received the invitation to join the movement, the patriot must conduct them to the spot designated. Everywhere on his passage he must proclaim the Revolution, and those who shall resist or endeavour to prevent the propagation of the movement must be put to death upon the spot.

The confederates must arrive at the stipulated hour, at the spot appointed.

They must only remain in other places to proclaim the Revolution as long as time allows them. Every one will therefore

begin the revolutionary movement sooner or later according to the distance of the place where he must appear.

As soon as the signal is given, each of the confederates must prepare arms for the people; those who have a horse must bring it in order that a division of cavalry may be immediately formed. As soon as the Revolution shall have been proclaimed, and that the people is in motion, all those must be detained who are going towards the spot where the insurrection is directing itself, and will only be liberated after the attack. Every one must act according to the instructions received, and obey the orders of the chief, under a penalty of death. This organization has the force of law.

Address of the Polish Emigrants to the Legislative Chambers.

Peers and Deputies,

You have had before your eyes for fifteen years a picture of the cruelties and sanguinary measures practised for the subversion of all moral and social order in Poland, under the domination of the Czar, an example partly followed, though with an appearance of moderation, by the two other spoliating powers, but whose tendencies were neither less iniquitous or subversive.

To attain this, as well as to facilitate for the autocrat, insatiable of Polish blood, the means of a prompt fulfilment of this work of destruction, unheard of in the

annals of the world, these powers have bound themselves, since the revolution of Poland in 1830, by fresh treaties to deliver up the victims who sought to elude the tyrant's vengeance. No engagements to the powers, no considerations for nations and humanity, no fear of that public opinion denouncing Nicholas, stopped them in their iniquitous career. But the nation which has not lost its dignity with its happiness is always ready to re-seize its rights, at the risk of succumbing to the exterminating sword of the enemy, sooner than see itself plunged, with all its generation, in misery and slavery. This, gentlemen, is at this moment the situation of the ancient kingdom of Poland. It is not an example or cry of insurrection issuing from some corner of the earth; it is not the hope of any assistance in the midst of a profound

peace. It is the love of religion, country and liberty, and the consciousness of right arrayed on one side, against the most atrocious, refined, and spoliative tyranny on the other, which has provoked this unequal and desperate struggle. Already blood flows in quantities on that soil which was, during centuries, the guardian of Christianity, European liberty and civilization!

This time our brethren have only their naked breasts to oppose to the armed power of three enemies bent on their destruction. Men of all stations and classes fight in the same ranks, the women take in their feeble hands weapons to revenge these outrages, and if any symptom of disunion has manifested itself in these ranks, if a few egotists, insensible to the ills of their country, have remained indifferent spectators of the sanguinary struggle which has commenced, the means of demoralization and corruption,

which our enemy has been using for a quarter of a century must be taken into account. We are confident that Divine Providence, which controuls the destinies of nations, will inspire the children of the same country, will instil into their hearts love and concord, and unite them by the bond of common interest, for the triumph of our holy cause. Notwithstanding all the struggles to which Poland has been exposed, up to the present hour, in order to regain its rights and become an indivisible and independent nation, none can be compared to the present events which are indeed without a parallel in the history of the world. We know, gentlemen, that the imposing aspect which unfortunate Poland at this moment presents, moves all the generous minds of a great and heroic nation. It makes all hearts beat with fear and hope;

it re-kindles all the sympathies, all the ineffaceable recollections of your glory. But there is a greater, a more powerful interest which speaks in favour of our cause.

Firstly, The interest of humanity outraged in all its rights; the dignity of nations and sovereigns offended by the spectacle of the slaughter of a whole people without distinction of age, sex, or condition, commanded by an apostolic sovereign, whose capital was saved by the ancestors of this race, which now falls a victim to his rage. Horrible massacre! Organized and executed by his agents.

It is besides the interest of that prosperity which manifests itself in Europe by the rapid progress of civilization, of industry, and by the daily improvements to which the arts and sciences give birth under the auspices of

wise and moderate governments. As long as any portion of Poland remains enslaved, Europe will always be seated on a volcano. All the efforts of a refined policy cannot destroy the sympathy of nations which is gained and assured to us for ever.

The Divine hand which directs our great social right reserves, perhaps, for a happier generation, the end of this struggle; but if the day of justice is not yet arrived, if we succumb in this fearful strife, would it be in the nature of things to refrain from that struggle any longer, when the ferocious Nicholas, with his allies, seeks the extirpation of our nationality, and the extermination of entire races! Then, gentlemen, that fearful day may perhaps arrive which was foreseen by that friend of Poland and humanity, who, in the belief that the social bond was being weakened in all the European states,

turned his sorrowing eyes towards the North, expecting to see issue from it warlike barbarians, alone capable, in their austere ignorance, of crumbling in the dust the odious decrepitude of Western nations plunged in luxury,—then only will be remembered, that Poland preserved Europe from the twenty-four consecutive Tartar invasions, which since the time of Gengiskhan came to break like waves against the rampart formed by the breasts of our fathers.

The first iniquity exercised by Poland, like the first crime of man on earth, has drawn down all the changes which have affected Europe during a quarter of a century. This truth has been acknowledged by the first political authorities, who cannot be suspected of excess of liberalism or partiality towards us; and the important troubles which have succeeded each other, since

the great judges of the congress thought that they had established order in Europe, are a fresh, incontestible proof of this, and call for a prompt expiation of this political crime.

It is in the face of such serious events, in the emotion of hearts which beat for our brethren, and in the momentary impossibility of assisting them by arms, that the Polish emigration finds itself compelled to raise its voice towards you, persuaded as it is of finding through you a support to which the dignity of a great nation obliges it, which humanity asks, and the general interest of nations demands.

But, gentlemen, to make carnage cease, without establishing the rights of ancient Poland, is only to nourish and re-kindle it with greater force and cruelty.

It is not a phantom kingdom, such as

was that devised by the Congress, which will assuage passions and obliterate outrages!

Glory to the nation which shall first weigh with all its might on the future destinies of Poland and the pacification of Europe—

(Here follow numerous signatures).

Chamber of Peers.

Sitting of the 19th of March.

M. de Montalembert. "Were I tempted to applaud the insurrection, it would be particularly on account of its preventing prescription, and proving that the thought which presided at the crime of Poland's par-

tition is amongst the number of those sterile ideas which have no result.

If, in all civilized nations, an attempt against a king's life has been placed higher than paricide, because a king represents and personifies all the strength and power of the country, what ought attempts against nations themselves to be considered! That is a crime of which no code speaks, because it was not foreseen. When Poland was immolated, was it a degenerate nation? No, it was a heroic country, which had given to the world, under the French banners, an example of valorous and military genius which France has certainly equalled, but not surpassed. Ought we to be insensible to the misfortunes of a nation thus divided, deprived of its language and its rights.

But we have also been menaced with this misfortune, and those sympathies which we

should have required in 1815, if our right had been so audaciously denied, let us grant to Poland. A greater crime than this exists not; but however monstrous it may have been, this crime in effacing Poland, has not been able to kill it, and those who have rendered themselves culpable, have created for themselves a permanent source of difficulties which are not near their end.

Look at Greece, and Ireland, so long forgotten, have you not seen their re-action; and this latter through the voice of a great orator. Is it not become for our neighbours a source of immense trouble? And you think that in the presence of such great examples that Poland can ever renounce her nationality! No gentlemen, consciences cannot be enchained, and there is an eternal reaction.

Be convinced, gentlemen, Polish nation-

ality cannot perish. The noble efforts which she has made will be renewed, and I hope that some day a voice, perhaps the eloquent one of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, will convey to this tribune the news of its success."

(M. Victor Hugo.) "Poland, my lords is still great amongst us; it is great in the sympathies of France; great in the respect of Europe! Why? Because it has served the European community. At one period of its history it rendered to the whole of Europe those services which are not to be forgotten."

APPENDIX.

VOL. II.

APPENDIX.

The Cossacks. Their alienation from Poland, and treatment by Russia.

(From the history of Lelewel.)

Extraordinary rising of the people.

"There was, however, a province where, under a warmer climate, a more unquiet spirit did not cease to manifest itself. This feeling was maintained in its dispositions by the neighbourhood of that Cossac liberty still existing, beneath the Muscovite yoke, beyond the Dnieper amongst the Zaporoges,

whose inaccessible retreats had hitherto sheltered their freedom from the violence of their protectors. Although the precautions taken on both sides of the Dnieper prevented terrible commotions amongst the Cossac people, it was evident the danger might still break out at any moment.

"We have a recent example (1702) in the rising of the Ukraine," says Leszczinski, twice deposed from the national throne, "it was only brought on by the vexations of those amongst us who had acquired domains —we despised the courage of the poor inhabitants of these countries; and they found resources in their despair." This outbreak was occasioned it is not known why, by the unexpected revolt of the chief of the Cossacs, Palei, who had shown himself a short time previously quite devoted to the party of the Leszczinski and of the republic. He issued

from Chvastow, besieged the town of Bialacierkew, and took it; and then attacked the fortress of Korsun and some other strong places. Having carried them, he put to the sword their feeble garrisons. An immense crowd of peasants rose on different points of the Ukraine, burnt its villages, and went to rejoin the Cossack camp, with its families and baggage. Palei chose those who were capable of bearing arms, and formed at first an army of thirty thousand men, which he divided into three corps, commanded by himself, Siemaszko, his son-in-law, and by Abazine. Following different directions, they carried everywhere, destruction and death—murdered or mutilated the nobles who fell into their power. In order to resist them, Potocki united in haste a few forces. The nobility of Volhynia took arms with so much the greater animation as the

spirit of revolt began to germinate in the provinces. The crown Hetman, Jerome Lubomirski, sent at the same time the republican troops. Stanislas Potocki, Starost of Chmielnik, jealous of a colonel who wished to seduce his regiment, gave this regiment a banquet at Berdiezec, when the Cossacs fell upon the town, killed him two hundred men, and took away a considerable amount of booty in plate, which was valued at a million of Polish florins.

On the morrow a fresh reinforcement of 2000 men turned the chances of victory; 15000 Cossacs were defeated. Towards the end of the month of November all three corps of Cossacs united were beaten in open field. Abazine fell into their hands, and was impaled. 70,000 captives of all conditions, were taken, their lives spared, but they were branded and sent back to their respective lords.

Palei and Siemaszko retired into some strongholds, and the remainder of the insurgents barricaded themselves under their ramparts, with their wives, children, cattle, furniture, and resisted during the whole winter; at last they succumbed to the tactics of the regular troops, commanded by the camp Hetman, Adam Sieniavski. There was at this period much blood spilt, and great desolation.

The King, Augustus II, was accused of fomenting this revolt in order to weaken the Leszczinski party, and the cossacs on being questioned, confessed this accusation before the tribunals, particularly at Luck (417). A few years later, in 1712, the peace of Prut very nearly occasioned a similar disagreement.

Peter the Great ceded to Turkey southern Ukraine, which he did not possess. In

consequence a portion of the Cossacs established themselves on the republican territory without acknowledging its sovereignty.

Instead of coming to an understanding, their Hetman answered the Hetman Jerome Lubomirski by threats. These Cossacs called themselves subjects of Turkey, desolated the country by their robberies, and occupied the environs of Human.

Lubomirski sent without delay an army of twelve thousand men against them. Victorious on several points it penetrated to the Sicz, siezed this strong-hold with all those who could not save themselves, and destroyed it. After this outbreak, for more than seventy years no popular outbreak disturbed the Ukraine. The irruption of the Zaporoges, in 1750, spread fire, pillage, and more considerable massacres than had previously happened. It was stopped, and

did not disturb the masses of the population, who remained quiet.

Lithuania in this space of time, in 1744, witnessed a deplorable revolt in the Starostie of Krzicvez. A peasant, named Voszczillo rose at the head of his brethren of the neighbourhood against oppression and violence. The insurgents stormed the castle of the Starostie without being able to take it. They were put down by the Lord-Steward of Lithuania, Radzwill, who possessed the Starostie of Krziczev.

These instances deserve to be mentioned, as they are rare. Oppression must have been pushed to an extreme if it exhausted the people's resignation and drove them to despair.

Raising of the Ukraine through the intrigues of the Tsarinna.

THE populations of the Ukraine and Podolia did not cease to sympathize with the Cossacs. Their general threat was, when dissatisfied with their masters, to call in the Haidamaks. Thus were called the Zaporoges, who made eruptions brigand-like. With these people, they kept up correspondence, and if they did not take up arms with the Haidamak Cossacs, at least they connived at their marches and gave them advice. The incursions of the Haidamaks were often repeated. They generally chose the time when the richness of the fields invited them, and the wooded parts favoured their marches and retreats. They divided

themselves into small bands, and followed each other in single file, in order better to conceal themselves ; crossed forests, ravines, brushwood, thinking more of robbing than fighting ; but this robbery and brigandism might became converted into sanguinary invasion, when circumstances favoured or inflamed their temerity. The Ukraine in its great length is almost quite deprived of forests, but in some parts there was sufficient wood to conceal the march of these brigands ; and more particularly the forests, bordering the river Tasnim, near the Dnieper, favoured these robberies. In these forests there were several disunited monasteries capable of embittering religious hatred ; several Polish noblemen possessed large domains, and nearly the whole of the canton of Human (Houmagne) belonged to Potocki Palatine of Kijov. Since 1760 he had con-

fided it to the care of a skilful administrator, Raphael Mladanovicz. In the course of a few years Human became a commercial town, a school was established which counted more than 400 students, and the country became populous. Mladanovicz distributed the land amongst the cultivators, on condition of their furnishing twelve days a year of forced labour ; twelve for the construction of roads and a moderate poll tax whereby he drew together a numerous population.

For the security of the country, besides the ordinary cantonment of regular troops, regiments of Cossacs were organized, formed of the people of the country. This extraordinary activity and progress induced the Latin and united Greek clergy to cultivate zealously the thriving vineyard. Rhylo, united Bishop of Chelm, visited the faithful, and the fervour of the united clergy be-

gan to alarm the non-united. Gervaise Linovski, non-united Bishop of Perislav also interfered, both parties seeking to make converts. They became impatient and irritated ; the united metropolitan, Felicien Volodkovicz, was incensed at the activity of Melchsiedeh Iavorski, superior (igumen) of the non-united monastery of Motrenin, situated in the forest of Tasmin. It was in a similar frame of mind that the confederates of Bar in 1768 overran the lands of the proprietors who would not associate themselves to their patriotic enterprise.

After the retreat of the confederates, and displacement of the regular troops, a panic and sinister forebodings spread through the Ukraine. Maximus Zeleniak, a Zaporoge Cossac, a penitent of the non-united monastery of Medvedovka, seconded by the Igumen Melchisedech, began to or-

ganize bands, who united with the Zaporoges, commenced pillaging and massacring, proclaiming in the name of the empress that the moment of emancipation had arrived, and that the whole of Polish Ukraine was about to be organized into a Cossac militia. An ukaze of the empress was exhibited, the report was spread of formidable reinforcements of 50,000 men, and the people was summoned in the name of religion, menaced by the confederation.

At this appeal the people gathered in different points, and the force of Zelesniak increased as he advanced in the direction of Medvedovka, Zabatin, Smila, and Zvinigrod. The castle of Lisianka was found in a state of defence, but its commandant, Kulhevski, confiding in the promise of the Haidamaks, that the lives of those who had taken refuge in the castle should be respected, if

they would surrender, opened the gates and every soul was piked to death.

Bialocerkiev, rather a strong place, resisted their attack, they however advanced, spreading carnage. Numerous bodies of peasantry hastened to join them. The Zaporoges furnished the peasants with arms, and these led them from house to house. "All that were not of the Greek religion, old men, women, children, nobles, servants, monks, artisans, Jews, and Lutherans, all were massacred. All the nobility resident in their mansions in the Ukraine, were murdered. The Jews, still more hated on account of their extortions, were almost all burnt alive.

These wretches amused themselves in hanging to the same gallows a nobleman, monk, Jew, and dog, with the inscription—"they are all one."

There was seen hanging to the same gallows, a mother, surrounded by her four children. One of these bands buried alive, near each other, several hundred men, with their heads above the earth, which they subsequently mowed down like the grass of the field. They ripped open the bowels of pregnant women, and tearing out the children, replaced them by dead cats.

Some of those guilty of these crimes were hardly ten years of age; they were urged to these murders by their fathers, who kept the hands of the unfortunate victims tied behind their backs, whilst they exercised the children in murdering, poniarding, and making their victims suffer slow deaths.

If an unknown person fell into their hands, and they suspected him of dis-

guising his truth or religion, they forced him to massacre with his own hands noblemen and priests.

All that could escape fled. Nothing was to be met with in the villages but murdered women and children crushed under horses' hoofs. An unfortunate escaping from this carnage crossed villages, the wells of which were filled with children's bodies. Three towns, fifty burghs, and several thousand houses, spread over the country, were burnt.

The City of Human.

A crowd of women, children and old people, abandoned, helpless, because all who were capable of bearing arms had joined the

confederates, had taken refuge behind the walls of Human (Houmagne) a horrible plot was formed to surprise those unfortunates. General Nisse, who commanded at that time in those parts, gave a Prussian Major who was then with fifty men buying horses, secret orders to withdraw; the fidelity of the cossacs of Human was at the same time sought to be corrupted. Already their chief, Gonta, became suspected. Gonta, a simple peasant of Rozsuski, was sufficiently well informed, as well as being gifted by his lord, Potocki, with two villages, he hoped very soon to gain hereditary proprietorship of them, and become ennobled; he had always shewn himself faithful and brave. The administrator of Human, Mladanovicz informed him that he was suspected; Gonta exculpated himself by solemn protestations, and he renewed his oath with all the enre-

gimented Cossacs. Mladanovicz did not withdraw his confidence from him, and sent him under the orders of a colonel against the Haidamaks ; but the conscience of Gonta was soon shaken ; the ukase of the Tsarinna was shewn to him ; he was assured that not himself alone but all Greeks would be admitted to all the dignitaries of the Republic, and associated with the government. A few days after, the Zaporoges, with the insurgent people, led by Zelezniak and Gonta, with his detachment, appeared fraternizing before Human. Mladanovicz foreseeing the defection of his Cossacs understood the inevitable danger, and did not conceal it from those who were shut up in the town. They filled the churches without delay, preparing themselves for death ; and he, after a short resistance, accepted the interview with Gonta, who, at the termination of the

conference, on the 24th of June, gained possession of a gate and delivered it to his people.

They ordered the inhabitants to carry to the public square all their property, all their money, in order to ransom themselves. This order was being executed when the massacre commenced as well as the pillage of all that remained in the houses. A merciless butchery—from which few escaped. Still fewer were spared by Gonta. These were baptised by aspersion, and admitted to the Greek rite, and of this number the children and young girls were divided between the cossacs and Zaporoges. Sixteen thousand persons of all ages and sexes were destroyed. A bishop came from Russia to establish his religion in that country. They danced, sung, gorged themselves with strong drink, and detached bands spread carnage

as far as Granor, Toplik, Daszov, Tulcrin, Monasterzika, Haissin, Bosovka, Ladiszin. Szidlo even extended it as far as Ralta, where he crossed the Turkish frontier in following his victims. Some other bands penetrated to Poberze along the Dniester. In the neighbourhood of Czehrin, a potter named Niezyvy, spread desolation. Bou darenko with a band ravaged the en virons of Tastov (Chvastov) not far from Kijov.

Destruction of the little Russian Cossacks and Zaporoges.

It was during this period that the name of the Zaporoges and ancient Cossacks of little

Russia disappeared and was heard of for the last time. The lands of Human and the Ukraine still smoked with the trickling blood. The bodies of the Leopol butchery were not yet cold, when Russia took efficacious measures to exterminate these populations, the Tsarinn triumphing over the confederates of Bar stayed their destruction. We have seen the reiterated promises of the Tzars to the Cossacs, we have observed the faithlessness which was sure to follow their mornarchical word and oath, and the constant complaints and occasional revolts of the oppressed. In consideration of the military succour which they engaged to furnish, they were promised a considerable subsidy, the absolute freedom of their persons, exemption from all kinds of taxes and the conservation of their privileges and laws. The information of all these promises has been the price of services

which they rendered Russia against Poland and the Turks, for the promised subsidy was not paid them. These free agriculturists have been subjected to the capitulation and attached to the glebe, like the Russian peasantry, whilst by the order of Catharine II. the agricultural academy of St. Petersburgh examined whether it would be more advantageous that the peasants should remain serfs, or be set free. At the same time a great portion of the lands belonging to the Cossacks was given to the other class of serfs, which are called nobles in Russia (dvorzanstvo, boiar). Instead of the officers that they had always elected, and domestic arbitrators before whom they came to reconcile their differences, the court of St. Petersburgh sent them Russian tribunals, the most corrupt in Europe, and Russian or German officers to command them. The post of

Hetman was abolished. When Catherine II. examined slaves from all the provinces for her projected code which was never made; the Cossacs claimed as a right the preservation of their institutions, the preservation of their law. The Governor of the Ukraine, according to the orders which he had received, sent their deputies chained, and transported to St. Petersburg where they almost all died in prison of hunger and cold.*

The Cossacs of little Russia, in consequence of these cruelties, ceased to exist. They have been embodied from that time forward, in regiments of regular troops and are enslaved. There then remained only to reduce the Zaporoges, and to destroy their retreat, a real sanctuary for the people of

* Scherer p. 262. Garran de Coulon. †. iii. p. 6.

their faith. This was still on the islands of the Dnieper, where a refuge was always open to all the dissatisfied and criminals of this nation. It preserved up to the last its primary institutions. The Empress herself, and the Grand Duke respecting their organization, had been inscribed on the list of this military brotherhood. Their exact number was not known, even they themselves were not certain of it; they were thought to amount to from 40 to 50 thousand. Russia enclosed them within that chain of fortresses by which she circulated all that she had conquered from the frontier wilderness. The Russians sought all possible means of weakening and subjugating this formidable society; they seized upon some of the islands; they often made armed violations of the territories of others in order to carry away by force the Russian

slaves who took refuge there. They kept women in the neighbourhood, seeking thus to draw these brigands from their hiding-place, get them into their pay, reduce them to the same discipline as the other Cossacs. Weakened and reduced to a dangerous situation by all these means, the Zaporoges, proceeding at the instigation of Catherine to ravage the Ukraine were, as we have already observed, partly destroyed by the Russians. Catherine at the same time outraged them by offering to deliver up to the sultan 200 living Zaporoges, and to abandon them to his vengeance, as a reparation of the violation of the Turkish frontier by her own regular troops. Order and quiet following its subjection the Ukraine, after the reduction of the Cossacs of little Russia, after the defeat of Bar's confederates, and the humiliation of

the dismembered republic, when an imperial declaration, made the 14th of August, 1775, informed Europe of the destruction of the root of this great family, the Zaporog Cossac. In this Ukase, the chaste Catharine II, after having reproached the Zaporoge Cossacs with their licentious mode of life, their attachment to their laws (which she herself had sworn to maintain,) and their claim to a territory which could not, she said, belong to them, as in their primitive institutions, they had no laws, consequently announces that she finds herself compelled by her duty to God, to her empire, and to the whole of the human race, to destroy the hordes of Zaporog. This religious sovereign adds that the destruction of this people has been effected by her troops in the best possible order, with tranquillity, and without any resistance on the part

of the Cossacs, as they only perceived the troops advancing upon them when they had surrounded them on all sides.

Kmet-Lech.

In the western parts of Sclavonia, to the north of the Carpathian mountains, a great portion of the inhabitants bore the name of kmet, kmiot. In the remotest times, this denomination was given to the ancients, supreme councillors, and those highest in civic rank. It was applied to all citizens; to all the free population capable of participating in the council; to all the cultivators of the soil: at last it became a denomination of the inferior and subordinate classes. Thus,

in Bohemia and Poland it indicated the peasants.* In Bohemia a portion of the population preserved with this title its prerogatives; it took the first rank and was followed by the Lechs and Vladicks.‡ The

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* The origin of the appellation Kmet is said to be unknown; however, the radical letter refers without difficulty to an etymology conformable to the signification of the word. K'miot, K'miec, K'miet, is derived from um, (conception—knowledge) and is composed of Ku-um, (for the council) in the Polish idiom, um is lost, only a few derivatives remain, umiec, to know, prezed miot, subject or object, (object of the conception) prezy miot, (moral and intellectual quality of man).

‡ Caze knieznavy pravity posty---po vsse kmety, lechy a vladiki, the princess sends messages to all the Kmetons, Lechs, and Vladiks, says the poem, entitled Judgment of Libousse, vstali kmeti lesi i vladiki, pochvalili pravdu pozakonu, the kmetons lechs, and vladiks, rose and rendered themselves justice according to the law.

Lechs form an inferior and younger race, their name even served to designate a young warrior. The Polish traditions say that a Lech of their country sent into Bohemia his younger brother who established himself there with his people. The Lechite youth establishing itself therefore in Bohemia and uniting with the natives formed a higher class, who were only inferior to the most powerful Kmetons who composed the highest civic class, and who long preserved their honorary title of Kmeto, a title since explained and replaced by that of Senator, Landed Consul, or Lord *(Panosza,)* but there were only a small portion of the Kmetons who preserved their ancient position by allying themselves with the new colonists.

The remainder of the natives fell into an inferior situation, even subordinate to the Lechs and their bladik companions in arms.

The remainder of this people, deprived of its civic rights, was distinguished by the ancient name of Kmeto, in order not to be confounded with the class of Robots, or Robotaries, whose servile work assimilated them to slaves. *

* Robota—rough menial work. From *Rob*, slave is derived *parobek* or *po-robie*, the son or descendant of *Rob*. In the course of time these expressions lost their ancient signification. Robota means any kind of work—an occupation. The Parobek is a free man, in service, employed in agricultural labours. With the Russians, Rob preserves its primitive value, who when applying an endearing and familiar expression to their children, use the word "Rabiata."

Inequality and gradation of Classes.

This inequality was established in Sclavonia before the introduction of Christianity; it varied according to local circumstances. Different portions of these populations rose or fell according to the march of events. At one time it was the newly established, who, finding hospitality, profited by the advantages offered them ; at another time it was the conquerors, forcing the conquered to an unequal union or to submit to a yoke and servitude ; lamentable consequences of decisive conquest.

The chiefs took advantage of these dissensions, and we have observed elsewhere how Christianity and foreign influence worked in their favour and contributed to

consolidate this inequality by arresting the popular fluctuations in the more durable and considerable states which were gaining consistence under the influence of christian civilization.

Slachcic—Noble.

The Lechite race, divided since centuries into different populations, was about being agglomerated into a more compact mass, as well as extending its domination under one chief. The Polanians acted a considerable part in this undertaking, and took the first step in the road which was to lead to it. The whole of the population which co-ope-

rated in forming the State did not obtain the same advantage. It was already composed of different classes, and amongst the Polanians and other Lechites there was a superior Lechite class, which formed the high class of Lechites, whose descendents, in order to be distinguished from the Lechite Polish Mazovian, and Chrobate masses, took the names of Z-lechcic, Z-lachcic, S-lachcic *(ex lechitæ progenitus)* that is to say deriving its origin from the race issuing from lech, from a Lechite. The pronunciation modified this appellation into Szlachcic—

(Schlakhtzitz). This class of men was termed in Latin nobles. When the country became a state the authorities by raising inferiors to this classennobled them. Already about 1040, King Kazimir granting an ordinary warrior more extensive pos-

sessions raised him to a higher rank.* The class of Szlachcic, Slachcic, Slachta collectively was always strengthened and augmented by fresh individuals who acquired the prerogatives which it conferred.

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* Non de nobilium genere, sed de gregariis militibus nobiliter opem tulit. Kazimirus civitatem ei contulit et cum dignitate inter nobiliores extulit (Gallus: 1, 20.)—quidam de sordido famulitii genere, avo originario, sed vir et facundus et strenuus nomine maslaus (Matth, 11, 00. pincerna Meschenis et minister, post mortem ipsius Mazoviae gentis sua persuasione princeps existebat et signifer. (Gall.i, 20.)

Poland is not Feudal.

In terminating my reflections on the second period of Polish history, I shall add a few observations against the hypothesis which makes a feudal state of Poland, and assimilates it falsely to the system of western countries, whence result other hypotheses which distract the observing mind. Several writers have already remarked the abuses of feudalism in different monstrously disfigured histories. Hallam, a very judicious historian observed justly, that only France, Great Britain, and a few Franco-Norman colonies constituted feudal states. Everywhere else there existed a stronger or weaker influence of feudalism; the adjacent countries are particularly affected by it, and if a country

is to be found radically opposed to the feudal principle, it certainly is Poland. The penetrating eye of this author has well judged and appreciated the historical character of this country.

Several French writers who sought to ascertain its social organization, acknowledged this truth. Jean Jacques Rousseau saw with pleasure that Poland, of all existing nations, approached nearer to the spirit of the ancient Greek and Roman institutions. Mably says to the French, the Poles have never known our feudal laws nor customs; their republic is only an association of landed proprietors; a general interest must always have united them.

Rulhieres also observes, that it is not the feudal form of government which exists in Poland, but a more ancient one—that of the Franks, Goths, of almost all the popu-

lations issued from the forests of the North, which have preceded feudality. In fact, if it be useful to compare any other social organization to that of Poland, it would be much better to assimilate it to the allodial system which preceded feudality; but the authority of so many celebrated writers could not effect anything against this unreflecting mass, which, with its confused ideas, preaches error. These illustrious French authors spoke of modern Poland. Hallam spoke of Poland during the middle ages; I think that the preceding considerations support his assertions, and the following will agree with those of other authors whose opinion I have cited.

Conditions of Feudality are foreign to Poland.

The conditions of feudality are, 1stly; the personal dependence and servitude of every one, brought to a system, a gradationary chain by which neither the humblest slave nor the lord are free. The immediate vassals are those of first order; those of the second, Barons, sub-feudatories, and bannerets are reciprocally liege men, vassals and serfs to their lords and owe them service as the vassals of the crown to their Suzerain. This gradation was sometimes confused by an admixture which often affects the Suzerain himself, and subjects him to vassalage.

2ndly. The absence of all absolute pro-

perty .Each one holds the land from another; the Suzerain being the titulary proprietor, and each one of the lords granting an investiture to his liege men, from whom he received homage for it. The land Fief or Manor served as salary, and the salaried feudatory owed personal service to the person of the lord who had invested him with it.

In this state of society there are no functionaries, but vassals instead. Nothing similar can be applied to the two periods of Polish history which we have ran through. The personal liberty and independence of each is the basis of society, which considers even captives as destined to a speedy emancipation.

There were lands, however, held on conditions which assimilated them to feudal tenures.

These small portions of the glebe called Kmetonal heritages were only to be cultivated at second-hand, but this destination of the soil did not establish any bond of vassalage. The Kmeton proprietor was free and only held them on a perpetual lease as we have observed. There is however to be observed in this tenure a clause which binds the Kmeton subject of his lord to divide with him the judicial fines, but this is the salary for protection and patronage, and not the servitude of a vassal. Each member of the nobility was free to offer his protection to each of the Kmetons, grant him refuge, become bail for him, and lend him his assistance as a free man. In general, landed property is absolute; no investiture or homage. If the donor reserve to himself some advantage this does not authorise him in considering

himself master of the domain which he has given, nor of the person to whom he has given it. The personal conditions are so rare that they present extraordinary exceptions, the result of the imitation of foreign examples, as practised by German strangers, who established themselves in an isolated manner. A single functionary, Sviatopelk, seized upon authority, governed and reigned without investiture and homage. Each one is simply answerable for service to the state. The civic national idea always predominates and does away with the evil which egotism excites and nourishes. No feudal conceptions indeed existed; the language has no expression for feudalism, it makes use of foreign terms, and when the words allodium, feudum, lehen, lehu, homagium, investitura, appear in Polish history, they are often strangely and monstrously

employed, and it is necessary to reflect well on their just value not to be mistaken in the inferences one draws in historical narration.

Allodial and Feudal System.

Expansion of the latter.

Montesquieu has treated of the origin of Feudalism, he has consequently analysed the centuries of the allodial system, and which gave birth to the feudal system. How many readers, however, without reflection form a confused idea, thinking that all is feudalism in it, feudalizing in their own

minds the social state from Pharamond until Louis XVI.

The penetrating spirit of the German writers made a more scrupulous distinction of the two systems so different, and even of the shades of difference between them. The scrutinizers of the middle ages, the numerous authors of elementary histories, abridged, or in full, have all established these differences; liberty is the principle of the allodial system, says the historian, Rottek, and servitude is the principle of the feudal system, the one makes all the rights and duties depart from the idea of national unity, and these are the civic rights and duties; the other makes all issue from the personal engagement which result from the exigences and obligations agreed upon. In the first; it is the nation or its authorities which demands fidelity — obedience,

in the other it is only what is personally owed. The allodial system is therefore more noble, it rests on an idea, acknowledges and protects the dignity of man and the citizen—the feudal system, on the contrary, in its conception is a declared enemy of this dignity, it gives a preference to salary over personal liberty, it leans towards disorder and slavery. To these observations must be added that it was the result of disorder and subjection—and that if it received birth and overthrew the allodial system under the Frank domination it spread far its ramifications and influence. Established and perfected in France, England, Scotland, and Naples, it ravaged the Peninsula of the Pyrenees, but crumbled in upper Italy against the franchises of the towns, sowing there however a very pernicious vegetation.

Germany in the centre of Europe presents

an Empire with a hundred heads, one of these cut off gives birth to several others younger; feudalism takes a deep root which in its numerous and dark ramifications is intermixed with an heterogenous vegetation, but these branches were strong enough to smother and uproot it when they themselves were falling into decrepitude. A great portion of the Sclavonian franchises giving way were buried amidst the ruins of the Empire. The more the irruption and influence of feudalism advances towards the East the weaker it becomes. Denmark, Norway, Sweden to the North, Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary to the South areaffected at a more modern period, in a different manner more or less hurtful to their principle or existence. They present a peculiar system opposed to that of the states of the west. The Ruthenian countries present

another picture of commercial cities, of Knez, and of a rustic simplicity struggling under the weight of Greek and biblical maxims.

(From Mickiewicz.)

The noble caste which governed the Germanic and Scandinavian nations, pretended to issue in a direct line from the gods, like the noble caste known in the East by the name of Azes, which at present governs several countries. These demi-gods thought themselves called upon to govern the inferior classes, but not to till the earth.

Having established themselves on the ruins of the Roman Empire, they left the property to the conquered people. They only levied imposts on the people, to purchase arms and necessaries of war; they also reserved to themselves the right of hunting. In general they were more humane and mild masters than the Roman Prefects and *Presides*, whose avidity had become proverbial, at the period of the fall of the Roman Empire. These properties divided, composed the fiefs or feudal tenures.

The feudal chiefs were therefore not absolute masters of the lands. They could neither sell nor alienate them without the permission of the state represented by the sovereign.

At the extinction of a family the land was given to another family, who thus contracted the obligation of defending the

state. Gradually however the nature of feudal land changed, firstly by the admixture of the Roman law, and secondly by the action of royalty, which found its advantage in suppressing feudality.

Before the French revolution, there existed a great number of feudal lands and rights, but already the Burgher and many of the people, obliged long since to fight and defend the national soil, began to ask by what right the military chiefs possessed immense lands, when the people, called to the military state, were alone subject to forced labour, and feudal property did not even pay any tax.

This state necessarily changed property held by so preposterous a tenure and reacted against the proprietors themselves.

After the revolution, thanks to the code, certain proprietors gained immensely, having

become absolute masters of the soil ; whilst at the same time freeing themselves from all the military service which formerly weighed upon the land.

With the Sclavonian population the states of things was very different ; all parish lands, as we have seen, belonged to the State. At the period of the establishment of the Polish states all these lands were in the hands of men calling themselves milites. Nobles, who were not to defend any particular property or parish, but the state. This was a great improvement. The military force became sufficient to protect all property.

Uutil nearly the tenth century, all parish lands were looked upon as only granted to military or fighting men. The nobility could neither divide, sell, nor alienate property. The King, however, granted, from time to time, certain privileges to noblemen ;

and in this manner many lands have eluded the ordinary law, and are become private property. The first example of division of land, authenticated by a diplomatist, dates from the end of the eleventh century. The master could not divide his land without his family; and the custom of asking the advice of the *agnats* remained customary until the eighteenth century in the Polish and Lithuanian Provinces. The only portion of parish territory, the nature of which has always remained the same, is that which is known by the name of Starosties. The establishment of Starosties is what distinguishes the Polish soil from the territory of all the Sclavonian nations. The Starosties are grand life fiefs. The state was accustomed to grant the administration and usufruct of these lands to some renowned chiefs as a sort of indemnity for

the national services, and as a means of serving the state. These fiefs could never be divided, neither could they be declared hereditary, with a few rare exceptions.

The Starosties constituted one fourth part of the territory of ancient Poland. These Starosties were however sought to be misapplied. In the sixteenth century these lands were called—*panis bene merentium*, (the bread of those who had deserved well of their country). They were granted as a recompense for services rendered the state, whereas they were only formerly an indemnity and means of serving the state.

In the Starosties we can recognize the ancient nature of all the parish property, or what we now call noble property. It has always belonged to the state; it was only looked upon as a means of serving the state.

We will give a few more examples in speaking of Polish public right.

It is now easy to perceive what an unfortunate influence all endeavours to arrange property in accordance with the ideas borrowed from foreign countries must have had. You know the history of those attempts. The French code introduced into the Duchy of Warsaw, declared the peasant free, that is to say it allowed him to change master, to leave the land of a too avaricious or severe master, and place himself under the protection of another. But the noble was recognised by the code not only as proprietor of the parish and seignorial lands, of which he could not dispose according to the real sense of the Polish law, nor of what was still more serious—the peasants' land. Similar legislation has been looked upon as progress! The code

has done great good to Poland in general, by simplifying legislative relations. Besides, its establishment coincided with the action of a fresh element, which made this people act, and developed its force. But as regards the rights of property the code has done great harm, and this evil threatens to increase. There are proprietors who feel their consciences at rest, and who think themselves dispensed from protecting the peasant morally and physically. Some form the project of establishing in these lands foreign colonists; who being more economical and better workmen would enrich them more easily. They do not see that they would thus destroy the Sclavonian race, and that these colonists would never have the same devotion to the national cause;—that they would not defend their chiefs at the peril of their lives. I think I have cited to you, in

speaking of the Sclavonian community, the example that the chiefs of the English and Scottish clans have given us: these chiefs of clans—the elder brothers of their countrymen; according to the Gaelic law, chiefs of their persons and properties—became, after the introduction of British legislation, firstly, feudal chiefs; and secondly, proprietors of the lands of their clan; and this, at the time, was admitted on all hands as progress. Everyone saw in it a step towards liberty; because the poor member of the community was thus emancipated from the clan. His elder brothers, however, having become dukes and members of the British parliament, forgot the moral bond which united them to these populations. They looked upon them afterwards as farmers, and by degrees came to the determination of selling their land to strangers. The Gaelic race being

neither sufficiently economical nor laborious, then established colonists. They also bred fine flocks of sheep, finding it more profitable to breed sheep than to support their countrymen. They thus struck the last blow at the Gaelic race. This is what the Polish proprietors would do if they accepted the idea introduced by the French code.

On another side, in the Duchy of Posen, the Prussian government has divided the property. The parish land remained in the hands of the lord; but a portion of the land has been given to each peasant for ever. But this peasant, governed contrary to his nature, separated from the parish, can no longer answer the exigences of the government. He is not sufficiently economical to pay the tax on a fixed day, and he has no humane protector who can defend him against the government, when the im-

placable fiscal representative arrives and sells his property to a German or Jew speculator; for the Machiavelism of the Prussian government protects the foreign, and opposes difficulties to the national buyers in the purchase of lands. It is even forbidden the peasantry, by an express article, to establish themselves on the estate of a noble, or to take land on condition of paying it by days of labour; because it was foreseen that this would re-establish things in their ancient state. What happened? A class is forming amongst the Sclavonians hitherto unknown—a class of day labourers. The proprietors build small houses, which they fill with these vagabonds, and at last a labouring population will be formed.

There exist a few exceptions—peasants, who are become richer and more en-

lightened ; but the old Sclavonic community disappears.

The Austrians have left the provinces nearly in their ancient state ; but far from developping the community they have paralysed all life in it.

Of all the Polish territories ruled by foreigners, the happiest are those governed by the Turks ; of all conquerors who have attacked the Sclavonians, the Turks have been the most humane ; and the Sclavonians owe them real gratitude. With them, up to the present moment, the parish remains proprietor of the lands ; all relation between the property and man have retained their ancient and religious simplicity ; and it is to be hoped that this people will suffer the least in the new organization of the Sclavonian populations, towards which this race is in-

dubitably inclined. Therefore, the great question of the Sclavonian race relative to property is the re-establishment of the parish where it has been destroyed, and the development of those which still exist.

Notwithstanding the influence of foreign doctrines and ideas, the Polish nobility has preserved the real tradition of the title to its possessions. It has always looked upon its lands as the property of the country.

It will thus be explained with what astonishing facility the richest noblemen, at all times, abandoned their castles and lands. At the time of the Saxon King Augustus, when the Confederation of Tarnogrod was being formed against the King, a rich Polish nobleman was called upon to preside over this assembly. This nobleman had just disposed by will of his lands and lived retired on some property which he had reserved.

What does he do when called upon to put himself at the head of a political and dangerous affair? He destroys his will and retakes his estates in order to risk them. This is an historical fact. He felt deeply that it was not allowable for him to dispose of his lands and property from the moment that he thought the republic required to be organised in a different manner to what then existed.

This duty of commencing a great act by a sacrifice has been shown by the Marshal of the Confederation, of Tarnogrod. I could also cite numerous examples of similar devotion to the national cause.

The nobles of the Circassian tribes, the Kniazes and Princes, have the same idea regarding property. A rich man, a noble, possessing money is a dishonourable man. The same opinion is found again amongst

the Poles, and even examples of it found amongst their sovereigns. The poet Kochanowski reproached the lords with luxury, which then only consisted in having a number of servants. He recalls the time when a noble had only one horse and his armour, and he prays the Almighty that Poland may always be thus poor.

"Bodajby Zawsze tak uboga Polska Zostala, a pohancom sroga." A noble Caucasian is obliged by custom to give all that is asked of him, he has not a right to refuse a present; but this custom does not oblige the merchants and peasants. Princes, Lechs and Czechs have been since ruined by strangers, and been obliged to beg their bread.

The remainder of this custom still exists amongst the Poles. If any one praise a piece of furniture or a horse, the noble proprietor of this horse or furniture is obliged to send

it directly to the person who has praised it; and when in foreign countries similar praise is looked upon as a compliment, in Poland care is taken strongly to inculcate children to avoid all compliments or praise, because these compliments or praise are looked upon as a clever mode of begging.

Money was looked upon as so derogatory to a noble and gentleman of the old school, still imbued with the prejudices of his race and still possessing all its qualities, that the celebrated Prince Radzivil, the richest proprietor in christendom wore a torn and miserable coat which he exchanged with every noble he met. He had never more than a crown about him, when he had spent it he took another from his treasury. He said it would be dishonouring his family to carry several pieces of gold in his pocket. Obliged at length to emigrate and live much in

foreign countries, he only took with him a single crown of gold, but had one cast, so says tradition, as large as a coach wheel.

Polish Titles.

It is well that the statute of Vislica makes gradations, and that the legislation of Mazovia continues still to support the difference between Slachcic and Vlodika. These differences were soon to vanish. In the provinces of the crown this inequality underwent a co-equation by the privileges of Louis, by the pactes that were made with him and by the legislative modifications of the time of Jagello. The nobility took the style

of the equestrian order, *ordo equestris ricertsvo* (from the German Ritterschaft, 128) and henceforward all inequality disappeared; each noble adopted certain arms, and many parishes, (posada,) whose population, amounted to several hundred families, made use of the same arms and same name. All the nobility took and fixed upon the family name which generally derives its origin from the landed property in possession at that time. Hence arises the frequent termination in Ski and Cki (tzski) which, answers to the Latin de and western idioms. The Ruthenians preferred adopting for their family names their patronymic terminating in Vicz (Vitche) the Lithuanians fixed upon the name of the chief of the tribe of the family name without changing the termination. All the nobility were equally emblazoned. Kleinot Szlachechi had the

family name *Imie* and fraternized by the expression of brother, *brat bracia*. The proverb said, the noble on his estate is equal to the palatine* because neither riches nor the highest functions ought to infringe on civil equality and fraternity.

* * * *

In Poland the families take their titles from the principal lands which they possess, and in making a participle adjective, which is equal to our de : for instance, we say the Archbishop of Gnezen, the Palatine of Cracow, and the Poles say the Gnezenian Archbishop, the Cracovian Palatine, in accordance with the spirit of the Latin language, and

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* Slachcic na zagrodzie, rovny Voievodzie.

without any exception ; it is the same with proper names and family names of dignity, the lords of Potok, Polkiev and Zamosc are called Potokien. Zolkieven, Zamoscien, with a further termination in ski, which marks the adjective in the Polish language, Thus the Palatine Krakovski, the Archbishop Gniezienski, Mr. Zolkievski, (possessor of Zolkiev, Mr. Stobnicki, whose seat is at Stobnicka, and whose family is from Stobnicka, &c.) We will give a few more examples relative to the names of families of Ritviany, Ritvianski, Ostrog, Ostrogski ; Tarnow, Tarnowski of Zamose, Zamoscki, softened into Zamoiski. Of Olesnica gives Olesnicki, of Szidloviec Szidlovieski, of Chmielnik Chmielnicki, of Potok Potocki, of Czarniek Czarniecki, (pronounce everywhere tzki because, the *c* is everywhere and always *tz*). With regard to

The high nobility who hold the ski not like the country nobles, but from some considerable landed property to mark their dignity and distinction, (double their name) as Franciscus de Potok Potocki; Johannes in Zolkiev Zolkievski; Zamosciu, na Zamoiski, instead of Jan Z Zamoscia Zamoiski as a simple noble would style himself if possessed of a small property called Zamosc.

With the Ruthenians Daszko, Daskievicz, Danilo, Danilovicz, Olelko, Olelkovicz, as if one said Olelkonide, Daszkonide. Also in Lithuania and Prussian families have proper names, independent of their lands, as Donhof, Pac (Patz) Sapieha: Soltan Radzivill, after the fashion of Germany and other countries (Dalerac, t. c.) Czerna Gaztovd or Gasztold, Korsak, Reiter. Besides these general rules, there are in Poland, and

in the Ruthenian countries, a great number of names, the origin of which is capricious, such as Gomolka, an oval cheese and Sinp, a Vulture.

Princely Titles.

When equality became established amongst the Polish nobility and was about to communicate itself, with all its prerogatives, to the Ruthenian, Lithuanian, Prussian, and Livonian nobility, then spacious Lithuania encompassing almost the whole extent of the ancient Ruthenian territory, supported a multitude of Knez and princely populations.

The Ruthenian title of Kniaz answered to that of Duke or Prince; it was the title of the sovereign house of Rurik and Gedimin. When both these numerous families lost their sovereign authority the title, instead of disappearing, became the honorary title of a multitude of private individuals. The Lithuanian senate on many official occasions gave the title of Kniaz to the senators, chancellors, and other dignitaries of Poland, who had no distinctive title. The civic character of the crown caused the court to ridicule this title and to jest by attributing its derivation to the dark forests of great game, Knieié, as if these Princes, Kniaz, had their habitations in the woods, like forest quadrupeds.

The definitive union of Lithuania with Poland reduced the title of Kniaz to a nullity,—and the civil spirit persuaded all

the princely houses as well Lithuanian as Rutherian to neglect it, so that singularly it was found easier to bring this indigenous and inveterate right into disuetude, than to stop the foreign contagion with which several aristocrats innoculated their own country in the sixteenth century. By means of family pacts many wanted to establish an exceptional order of succession, contrary to the general law, in order to assure themselves of the splendour of their house, in the person of their first born. They sought to establish entails called ordination. These arrangements were mostly disapproved and abrogated, but Zamoiski himself set the bad example of establishing an entail which took consistency; the others procured themselves foreign titles for their families, and the title of Count was clandestinely established in some aristocratic families.

The great Zamoiski himself, who refused, like a republican, the title of Prince, wished in his advanced age to obtain the title of Count, in order to fight a duel with Prince Charles, Duke of Sudermania and usurper of Sweden. These titles made a few ambitious people of importance in foreign countries, but stained their civic character in their own; and there are very few who would have dared parade it in the heart of the republic. It would have been dangerous to have gone against the brotherhood.

The last King of Poland.

THE residence of Stanislas Augustus at St. Petersburg must have been very melancholy,

particularly when it is considered that it was during the reign of Paul—Masson relates the following anecdote on this subject—"At a court ceremony," he says, "Paul is fond of showing himself, sceptre in hand, the crown on his head and an imperial mantle on his shoulders. Stanislas, who followed him, borne down by old age and lassitude, was obliged to seat himself in a corner whilst Paul made three or four hundred court slaves kiss his hand. He perceived that the old King had seated himself during this ceremony and sent an aid-de-camp to command him to stand up," f. 11, p. 169. Masson describes Paul's regulations concerning the Catholics at St. Petersburgh, and then he says, "Paul had the body of the unfortunate King of Poland buried in the same church, and he came himself to superintend the preparations for the obse-

quies. An upholsterer, decorating the vaults, at the top of a ladder, in waistcoat and trowsers, in order to work more easily, happened to catch his eye. Paul, learning that it was a Frenchman named Leroux, ordered him to descend, and had the bastinade administered to him in the midst of the church. "To the anecdote which Masson has preserved we will add a few others more facetious, which happened on the occasion of the funeral.

"As Stanislas Augustus was an ex-king, who had abdicated his crown, the Emperor Paul thought proper to re-instate him on his throne. He had his mortal remains dressed out in a royal mantle, and himself placed a crown on the head of the deceased. In this manner he replaced him on the throne, and re-crowned him King, as the Russians in their rites

rebaptize the bodies of the unorthodox before burying them in their churchyards. After this first ceremony, the Poles present and the Russians of the court were called upon to kiss the hand of the royal corpse. The body remained sometime deposited in the palace. When the religious ceremonies began, having asked what rites were practised at the death of the Bourbon Kings of France, Paul learnt that the royal family had a right to share certain ecclesiastical honors with the priests. He wished to know them, in order to render personally this testimony to the King, his brother, without at the same time wounding Russian orthodoxy. In consequence, he and the two Grand Dukes, his sons, Alexander and Constantine, and the Catholic priests, incensed and sprinkled with holy water, the body lying in its coffin in the middle of

the palace. Paul then followed the funeral procession to the door of the Catholic church, where he did not enter, being of another faith; but wishing to make this spectacle more showy he had new vestments, and a richer archiepiscopal mitre made, of which he himself furnished the design, and according to his orders, his imperial cipher was (which resembled a gibbet) placed in front of the mitre instead of the cross, and the Archbishop Sistrzencevicz, his head covered with the mitred gallows,* and the crosier in hand, marched like an imperial grenadier, to the great satisfaction of this Emperor Paul.

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* The P the initial letter of the name of Paul the first Pavel Piervoi is written in the Russian Alphabet, by a sign which exactly resembles a gibbet.

The Tarnow Massacres.

(From the *Reforme* of the 27th of May, 1846.)

The following at last is the report of an eye-witness who comes forward to attest on free French soil, the horrors with which the Austrian government has polluted its own fame, in unhappy Gallicia.

Until this very day, nothing has reached us but the mangled reports, which found their way through the German newspapers. The document we now publish, will remain eternally annexed to the condemnation which all mankind ought to pass upon that government of assassins. We call upon the

independent newspaper-press to reproduce it. No fear of its ever being contradicted, need be entertained. Major Podolecki *(Podoletski)* is an honourable citizen, whose testimony is entitled to the full confidence of all honest men. Here is his letter, it is impossible to refrain from shuddering at its perusal.

" Having succeeded in escaping from Austrian butchery, and Austrian gaols, I feel it to be my sacred duty towards so many unhappy victims, to trace a faithful account of those horrors, of which I happened to be an eye-witness.

I shall relate merely what I have seen myself, without any admixture of even the most authentic verbal reports ; but I have seen only a minimum part of a catastrophe unheard of in the history of crime.

After leaving Lemberg on the 16th of

February, when passing on the 19th through the village of Iodlova, in the district of Iaslo, I was surprised at the emotion caused in the minds of the inhabitants by vague and foolish rumours, arising from unknown sources, purporting that in the village of Demborzhin, *(Demborzyn) the nobles were massacring the peasantry.* Several inhabitants of Iodlova hastened thither, and returned of course without having found the least disturbance ; but these rumours were a melancholy and premeditated prelude to the storm of the succeeding day.

Having reached on the evening of the same day, the mansion of.....from which the owner was absent, I resolved, in common with M. Alexander Zdzinski, who had arrived before me, to remain there for the night.

On the following day I had, in order to

reach the object of my journey, to ride over the same way I had come the day before. Reaching Iodlova, I found there a crowd armed with scythes, pikes, and flails; at first I supposed this to be a revolutionary outbreak, burst forth before the appointed time; but I was soon bitterly undeceived, as the crowd surrounded me, howling, that they were acting *by virtue of an order of the government.* I asked them in vain to bring me before the lord of the village, or before the land-steward* They replied: "You are all rascals, you wish to slaughter the people; we have already arrested two of your kind." Luckily for me, the *maire* of the village arrived, and ordered me to be

* The land stewards in Gallicia, are officers acting under the controul of government.

led to Demborzhin, to the Commissary of the District † who had remained there since the morning in search of suspected persons.

During this short trip, several peasants, whose military appearance seemed to point them out as dismissed soldiers, proposed to get rid of me instantly, in order to escape the trouble of escorting me further; but the *maire* objected by placing himself in my sledge and accompanying me to Demborzhin.

In this last place several hundreds of armed peasants filled the court-yard, and the avenues of the mansion. I was introduced into the house of the land-steward. Soldiers kept watch in the lobby; gendarmes *(finanz wache)* filled the parlour, and in presence of the commissary, M. Hayrofski, *(Hajrouski)* and of an officer of infantry, they were

† A rural police-director in Austria.

breaking open the chests and drawers, because the land-steward had in his flight taken the keys with him.

After the usual questions about my name and surname, my rank or profession, and the object of my journey, the commissary caused me to be transferred to an adjoining room, where I found two young men in irons. The gendarmes searched my boxes and my dress, and although they found nothing which could lead to any suspicion, M. Hayrofski intimated to me that I was to be taken to Iaslo, the chief town of the district.

In the afternoon we resumed our journey. The caravan, composed of several vehicles and sledges, contained, besides, M. Hayrofski, the commissary, an officer, twenty-four soldiers of infantry, about ten gendarmes, M. Bobrofski, *(Bobrowski,)* the

proprietor of the place, several women, children, a priest, two young men in fetters, and myself. I was placed between two gendarmes, who watched over every movement that I made.

Thus we traversed two or three villages before we reached the highway between Silsiw and Iaslo. The villages and all the roads and by-ways were guarded by armed crowds. At every moment the commissary and the gendarmes stopped to give secret instructions to the peasants.

At the ford of Iavorzhe *(Jaworze)* a bloody scene made me shudder: two mutilated corpses lay on a peasant's sledge without horses, left at a small distance off the high road. One of these victims was still breathing: it was M. Kuntzel, *(Kunzel,)* a chief wood-keeper in the neighbourhood.

After crossing the river we met with three

peasants on beautiful horses. As soon as they perceived the bayonets of the soldiers they hastened to join us and to depose into the hands of the officers of government several pieces of silver plate and dresses of both sexes. Their hands and clothes besprinkled with blood bore testimony to some recent crime.

Further on we found bands moving in the vicinity of the high-road in divers directions, as if in search of somebody. Whenever they perceived us they joined the caravan, to disencumber themselves of their booty.

Before the inn of Kamienista (*Kamienica*) the crowd was very numerous. Our caravan stopped. M. Hayrofski alighted from his vehicle, and immediately two unhappy ladies threw themselves at his feet, to implore his intervention to save the life of a man who was

the son of one of them, and the husband of the other. A little while after, the unfortunate * * *, sustained by the ladies, came out of the inn, but with a face so disfigured and mangled that his features were not recognisable. He was put into a sledge, as well as a wounded old man, and sent under an escort of a gendarme into a neighbouring mansion; the ladies followed on foot. The gendarme soon returned and related that the mansion, where he had left the wounded and the ladies, was completely ruined and contained neither furniture, doors nor windows.

Besides these victims, five corpses were found by us in the inn of Kamenitza. A friend of mine, M. Victor Bogush, *(Bogusz)* was one of them. He was still breathing when we arrived, but he expired soon after. One of the assassins boastèd loudly before

the commissary, M. Hayrofski, and in presence of the whole caravan, of having killed M. Victor Bogush. "Yes, M. Commissary," said he, "it is myself, Thomas Iardis, from the village of Kamienitza, who killed Bogush with my own hand, I, who for ten years have served the Emperor." The commissary and the gendarmes talked familiarly and politely with these brigands.

It was very late when we arrived at Iaslo. I was confined in the town prison with two other prisoners, who were suspected of revolutionary proceedings, and were in irons, notwithstanding the strength of the prison walls and the numerous watches posted at every outlet.

On the following day I was brought into the governor's hotel. There, another commissary, M. Paioutchkofski, *(Pajavzkowski)* drew up a written examination against me,

and as the papers found on the preceding day in my valise gave proofs that I had legal affairs to attend to at the tribunal at Tarnow, and as moreover two government officers who knew me personally, deposed in behalf of my personal identity, I was let out of prison and had a passport given to me for my returning home to the district of Zlotchof *(Zloczow)*. But this I did not intend to effect as called elsewhere by duty. I resolved therefore to prolong my stay, in which I succeeded under different pretences, until the 26th of February, although M. Prshybylski, *(Przgbylski)* the captain of the district of Iaslo (*), had himself commanded me to leave the place. During the interview I had on the occasion with this base

* "Captain of district" is a civil, executive office answering to that of Lieutenant-Governor.

and sanguinary man, I gave him an account of the deeds of horror I had witnessed on my way to Iaslo, of the frightful expressions of the assassin Thomas Iardas, and of the facility with which a stop could be put to all these atrocities ; the peasants obeying still blindly the government officers, the soldiers and the gendarmes. He fell into a rage and exclaimed : " You have willed it yourself, gentlemen ; I will have no pity for you." Vainly I objected that his sentence could not refer to me, as I did not belong to his district and as I had for the first time in my life the pleasure of seeing him. He threw a tiger's look at me and replied : " Bah ! gentlemen ; you are all alike, I know all of you well, and therefore be gone."

During my stay at Iaslo, more than ten dead and mutilated bodies were brought

every day to the town, besides a great number of wounded. Among the slain I remarked M. Denker the proprietor of Gogolof, and his son ; M. Alexander Zdzinski ; M. Piershhalla *(Pierszchala)* ; a little boy nine years old, whose eyes had been torn out ; several servants, and even foreign working men.

Among the ill-treated were M. Ninceud Pol, one of the stars of our literature ; his brother Joseph ; M. Titus Prsheniłzki *(Przenicki)* ; Madame Pol, the wife of the celebrated author, M. Jordan and his wife ; and M. Mias, ancient French officer under the French empire.

The carts loaded with prisoners, with wounded or dead bodies, always under the escort of the murderers themselves, stopped constantly before the government hotel, where the officers and gendarmes re-

ceived the living, releasing some of them and imprisoning others. The corpses were returned to the murderers for interment on the spot where the murder had been committed. I saw agonizing men asking for and receiving the sacrament on the wheelbarrow which had brought them before the government hotel and in presence of their assassins who after awhile returned with their inanimate bodies.

The most awful wretchedness reigned amongst the prisoners. The wounded and the dying were heaped without distinction together. It was not before the eve of my departure from town that the caves were transformed into gaols, by partitioning large subterranean halls into cells by fresh brickwork.

Meanwhile the town was fast filling with those who in consequence of the proximity

of their abode had succeeded in escaping from the slaughter, often by *the help of their own* peasants. *Of their own peasants,* I say, as in this systematic, massacre, each commune was employed in the extermination of the inhabitants of some neighbouring mansion, but never of their own masters. Whenever the peasants showed a determination to save the life of their master, several other communes were summoned to combine together in order to overcome the resistance.

It is an extremely false and erroneous opinion which ascribes these horrors to the revenge of the peasants against the oppression of their masters. The country gentleman in Gallicia was so isolated, so thwarted in all his proceedings by the influence of government, that he could do neither good nor harm to the peasants. No other oppression but that of the Austrian was possible. In fine, the

landed proprietors in Gallicia were so far from being inclined to oppress their peasants, that they expressed at each Diet at Lemberg, the wish of emancipating these selfsame peasants.

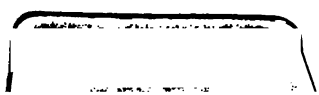
There is not the slightest doubt that the Austrian government organized the slaughter by means of this calumny as atrocious as it was absurd, *that the gentry were conspiring for the extermination of the peasants.* In the first moments the thirst of pillage did not enter into their motives, as the peasants gave up the whole booty to the gendarmes and the civil officers, believing that they were acting in legitimate self-defence ; alike in this case to the people of Jerusalem, who in their sacrilegious blindness slaughtered their prophets, they murdered the very men who were labouring to give them liberty, property, and political existence.

On the 26th of February, the martial law was proclaimed at Iaslo, and orders were given to the suspected to leave the town before three o'clock in the afternoon. To describe the terror and despair of the unfortunate, who, driven from this last refuge, were given up to the mercies of an infuriated mob, which having acquired a taste for crime, had discontinued to give up the plunder, and was ravaging and pillaging all around for its own profit, would be a vain task.

Some of those who were placed in this perplexity asked for passports to other Austrian provinces than Gallicia ; and although the government of the district had no right to give any, they did it nevertheless in order to disencumber the town from all those whom they feared, without having a sufficient pretence for imprisoning them.

The government allowed all these atrocities to be committed against the Polish nobility, by their abstaining from any intervention. It was however enough for a gentleman to be brought thither by the peasants, to be treated like a criminal. But the government dared, or willed not to imprison those who had succeeded in escaping. Finding myself in this melancholy situation, and judging it to be the only opportunity perhaps I would find for my salvation, I joined with the others in asking for a passport, and obtained one for Prague in Bohemia, where I found means of getting to France, this hospitable country which now constitutes the only refuge for political misfortune.

JOHN PODOLECKI.

From the district of Zlotchof.

THE END.